

RUSSIA'S NEW GERMAN PROPOSAL

On March 10 the USSR laid a bombshell on the doorstep of the Western Big Three. Even the Communist parties in the stooge nations were caught off guard.

The Kremlin, asking an early Four-Power conference on a peace treaty for Germany, made the following proposals: 1) Germany is to be *reunified*; 2) she is to be allowed to *rearm* sufficiently for self-defense and to *make her own arms* for that purpose; 3) her *boundaries* will be those established at Potsdam in 1945; 4) all *foreign forces will be withdrawn* within a year of the treaty's completion; 5) all *former Nazis*, except those serving prison terms, will be *restored to full civil rights*. The most startling concession, of course, is Russia's willingness to let a reunified Germany rearm.

This is the most serious and winning approach the USSR has made to Germany in the whole period of the cold war. Its import is shown by the care with which the Big Three are studying their reply. It is by no means a mere propaganda trick.

Why did Russia make this move? Clearly, she must feel that the drive toward European unity, with its gathering momentum, and especially Germany's integration therein, must be checked now or never. The great question is: does Russia still have any chance of persuading Germany to renounce her commitments to the West and adopt a status of reunification and armed neutrality?

Some observers, such as Walter Lippmann, are inclined to say yes. As they see it, Russia has terrifically strong cards (trade, etc.) which she is playing very shrewdly. And she still holds the ace of trumps: the return of all the Oder-Neisse lands, with the consequent relief of the terrible pressure the eight million or so expellees are exerting on the German economy. Russia has made her present move confident that she holds the winning tricks.

Others, such as Anne O'Hare McCormick, think the present *démarche* is one that springs from desperation. Russia sees Western Europe growing stronger every day. She sees Bonn on the verge of getting full sovereignty. She sees the German people, despite their own reluctance and the opposition of the Social Democrats, resigned to bearing arms in a European defense force. So Russia had to make some counter-move, though despairingly.

The optimists appear to have the better side. Germany is not likely to be won by promises of "reunification" *until free elections are first pledged*. Now Russia has no intention of going that far. The UN commission to examine the possibility of such elections is still denied entrance to Eastern Germany. Nor is the promise of a small army for "defense" likely to allay German fears of the Red colossus.

By all means let the West agree to a Four-Power conference on a German peace treaty. But meanwhile let them strain every nerve to consolidate the West and cement Germany to it. For the latest Russian proposal is a grand tribute to the efficacy of present policies. Let's proceed with them.

CURRENT COMMENT

Austria—a development?

After 258 meetings of the Four-Power deputies delegated to draw up a peace treaty for Austria, that country is still in shackles. Russia's reasons for stalling are obvious. Every year \$50 million from Austrian production swells the Kremlin's coffers. Besides, Russian occupation troops stationed in Eastern Austria provide a pretext for Russian troops in Rumania and Hungary, "to protect Soviet lines of communication to Austria." On March 13, Britain, France and the United States made a bold attempt to get a settlement by proposing an "abbreviated" treaty of only eight points. In one of them the Big Four relinquish all claims to "German assets" in Austria, and to this killing of the goose that lays the golden eggs Russia will never agree. What then? The Western Powers, while cautious not to conclude a separate treaty with Austria (thereby partitioning the country), will probably declare that in their eyes she is free and independent. They will probably then bring the issue before the United Nations. That body will probably admonish the Russians—and leave Austria just where she is now. The problem of the status of Austria cannot be solved until Germany's status is determined.

European taxes

A very vocal segment of Congress intends to cut the foreign-aid appropriation on the ground that our European friends are not pulling their weight in NATO. Some of the latter could no doubt be doing more. Nevertheless, in any comparison of the relative burdens which we and they are carrying, our allies would not come off nearly so badly as some Congressmen think. That is one of the conclusions to be drawn from the excellent survey of European taxes published on March 15 by the *New York Times*. According to Michael Hoffman, who analyzed the facts revealed by the survey, our allies, with the possible exception of Italy, are taxing their peoples very heavily—taxing them, in fact, beyond the limit hitherto thought possible in peacetime. In France, West Germany and the Netherlands, central and local governments are taking between 33 and 36 per cent of the national income. The tax bite in Belgium is 25 per cent, and in Italy, 18 per cent. In these latter countries the figures are in reality almost certainly higher, since in computing their taxes Italy and Belgium do not include social-security

imposts. Congressmen should note that in fiscal 1953, Federal, State and local governments plan to appropriate about 33 per cent of the income of the American people—or about the same percentage European governments are taking from their peoples. The difference between taxes in the United States and in Europe lies not in the *amount* collected, but in the *manner* of collecting. We emphasize *direct* taxes, taxes on personal and corporate incomes; they put the stress on *indirect* taxes, excises and sales taxes of various kinds. To the citizenry here and there both processes are painful. If anything, the pain is sharper for them than for us. They have less to start with.

Bevan widens revolt

Completely impenitent despite two warnings by leaders of the British Labor party, Aneurin Bevan last week went further down the fatal road of neutralism than he has ever gone before—in *public*. Addressing a group at Jarrow, in northern England, on March 16, he called upon European Socialists to form a "third force" independent of both Soviet Russia and the United States. The next day Joseph Newman reported from London to the New York *Herald Tribune* that though Bevan assured his audience he was anti-Communist and not anti-American, he spiced his remarks with attacks on the United States and kind words for Soviet Russia. "I don't believe the Soviet Union has any intention of imperial aggrandizement," he announced. In almost the next breath he informed his "American friends" that their "economic and fiscal policies are doing more damage to Western Europe than Stalin could ever do." (Bevan ought to try telling that to the Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Slovaks and other European peoples groaning under the yoke of Soviet slavery.) Ordinarily, Americans would be completely indifferent to a Donnybrook in the British Labor party. If they are concerned with this one, the reason is simple. Bevan is attacking not merely the rearmament schedule in Britain, but the very foundations of NATO and U. S. foreign policy. Neutralism on the continent and "Bevanism" in Britain are blood brothers. Equally characterized by suspicion of the United States, faith in Moscow's pacific intentions and a frightening unrealism about contemporary affairs, one is as much a

menace to peace and freedom as the other. It does not seem that the British Labor party can continue much longer to harbor this confused and dangerous man.

Oil and obstinacy in Iran

For the fourth time since Iran nationalized her oil resources, efforts on the part of the West to get the oil flowing have again failed. Discussions between the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Iranian Government collapsed on March 16 when an obstinate Premier Mossadegh rejected certain of the Bank's terms for operating the industry. Mossadegh refused to permit ousted technicians of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to return to the country. The Bank showed itself unwilling to discriminate against technicians belonging to any of its fifty member countries. The negotiators also disagreed on the price for which the Bank would sell oil to AIOC and the price Iran would be allowed to ask on the world market independently of AIOC. As the Bank mission packed its effects and prepared to depart, Dr. Ali Shayanegh of Iran's Joint Oil Board dramatically declared that it was "the duty of the Iranian Government to ignore the loss of oil income"—a praiseworthy devotion to principle, but hardly realistic. It is becoming more apparent every day that the Western world may be able to get along without Iranian oil. By next November a pipeline from Kirkuk, Iraq, to Banias, Syria, will quadruple the flow of Iraq's oil to the Mediterranean. The proven oil reserves of Iraq are almost as great as those of Saudi Arabia. Transportation was always a big handicap in preventing full Iraqi production. With the completion of the pipeline that problem will be solved. Iran, in a state of economic collapse, may find her place as one of the great world producers of oil taken over by her next-door neighbor.

Batista and labor

American labor leaders have their fingers crossed on Gen. Fulgencio Batista's bloodless revolution in Cuba. One of the first acts of the new regime was to seize the headquarters of the Cuban Confederation of Labor, the "Palace of Labor." This resort to force was quickly followed by an announcement that all strikes would be banned for 45 days pending a study of the labor "problem" by the Cabinet. The whereabouts of the chief Cuban labor leaders was unknown. In the days immediately following the coup reports spread that they had been arrested, or were in hiding or had fled the country. Wherever they were, six days after the revolution they were still not in touch with their U. S. colleagues. Finally, on March 16, the press carried a story that the executive board of the Cuban Confederation of Labor had pledged its support to Batista and that the General had reciprocated by ordering the army to end its occupation of the Palace of Labor. We can only hope that this deal, if confirmed, leaves Cuban labor free. Under the regime of Batista's predecessor, Prio Socarras, the Cuban Confederation was thoroughly purged of Muscovite agents and be-

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came one of the strongest anti-Communist labor movements in Latin America. As part of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, it was leagued with the AFL and CIO in their world-wide fight against the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions. Since Havana has long been rumored to be Cominform headquarters for the Western Hemisphere, the future of the Cuban Confederation of Labor ought to be as much a matter of concern to the rest of us as it is to the AFL and CIO.

Tobias and Pavlov

The big guns of Soviet vilification can sometimes backfire in unexpected ways. At a recent forum of the Catholic Interracial Council in New York, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, prominent Protestant Negro leader, described the Holy Father's graciousness in granting him and his wife a private audience in Rome, and told of his experiences when he was a member of the U. S. delegation to the UN General Assembly in Paris. Angered by his sharp questions on the case of William Oatis, AP newsman detained by the Czechoslovak Government, A. P. Pavlov, Soviet-bloc delegate, accused Dr. Tobias of using language "fit for the Chicago stockyards." This gave Dr. Tobias an opportunity to say that Chicago stockyard workers are a fine lot of people. He wondered why Mr. Pavlov was so down on the working class. All that Pavlov had left was to murmur: "Well, there are also bosses among the workers." When the Ukrainian delegate, S. P. Demchenko, sought to embarrass the U. S. delegation by references to oppressive measures suffered by Negroes in this country, Dr. Tobias replied:

It is true that we have some bad laws and that we have some good laws which are not enforced, but one thing we have in the United States which you do not have—the freedom to fight bad laws and to insist that good ones be enforced.

Dr. Tobias' vindication of our country's honor abroad would have an added punch if some of our State and Federal legislators showed more interest in "freedom to fight bad laws and to insist that good ones be enforced."

Japan's economic problem

With the expected ratification by the Senate of the peace treaty and the joint U. S.-Japanese security pact, Japan's greatest problem, her national defense, is well on the way toward solution. Her next biggest problem is how to keep 85 million rice bowls filled. Though politically allied to the West, Japan lives in a half-Communist-controlled Asia. Can she survive economically, if she persists in limiting her once vital trade with China? Richard L-G. Deverall presents one point of view in an article in this issue of AMERICA ("Stalin's spring offensive," p. 693). Other experts are inclined to sketch Japan's dilemma in even sharper tones than Mr. Deverall. 1) Japan's current prosperity is only skin deep. She labors under a \$600-million trading deficit. U. S. procurement for the Korean war and troop ex-

penditures have plugged this dollar gap so far. A Korean truce would therefore knock the props from under Japan's present economy. 2) Theoretically, Japan could become Southeast Asia's workshop. Yet there is small chance that without huge investments trade with Free Asia would solve Japan's economic dilemma. Furthermore, Southeast Asian raw materials, which Japan would want in return for her manufactured goods, are at a premium because sterling-area countries have the preference. 3) Many Japanese economists and businessmen are convinced that the only solution to Japan's problem is resumption of her "natural" trade with China. The average Japanese looks on the situation philosophically, treating it as political rather than economic and placing the burden on the Allies to find a way to prevent Japan from being drawn into the "ruble" bloc. As one Japanese industrialist put it, "no nation starves quietly."

Protestant "clericalism" in India

Protestants in India fear for their future. *Information Service*, weekly organ of the National Council of Churches of Christ, carried a report in its March 15 issue (taken from the *British Weekly*) of a warning by the Moderator of the Synod of the Church of South India. He declared that the Church of South India is dangerously dependent on funds over which it has no control. These funds derive from two sources, from Christians abroad and from the Government of India. A major source of concern is the possible curtailment of Government financial assistance. Quoting the Moderator, *Information Service* states that "a Church so dependent on foreign or Government money and on foreign leadership is a very vulnerable Church in the world today." Why? "Our pastoral machinery would collapse if, as well may happen, the Government decided to take over all elementary education." Village teachers, paid by Government grant, play a role in the life of the Church of South India for which it has no substitute. The Moderator also expressed anxiety over the economic dislocation of the Christian community that would follow if the Government were to withdraw its financial assistance from the Church's high schools, colleges and hospitals. We find all this very interesting. The *Nation* will have to dispatch Paul Blanshard to South India at once to write a book on the "threat to freedom" of this menacing "clericalism." The *Christian Century* is sure to expatiate on this scandalous breaching of the "wall of separation" of Church and State by their brethren abroad. Letters of protest will be flooding the columns of the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune*, the *Washington Post* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. We congratulate *Information Service* for letting the chips fall where they may.

Clean-up of Local 600

Walter Reuther, head of the million-member United Auto Workers, lost no time in capitalizing on the March visit of the House Un-American Activities Committee to Detroit. Witnesses strengthened Mr. Reuther's hand

by testifying before the committee that Ford Local 600, the largest local union in the world, was largely controlled by a handful of Communists. He soon summoned its officers to appear before the UAW executive board. Since the UAW constitution bars Communists and those subservient to the Communist party from holding office, Mr. Reuther was proceeding on sound legal grounds. After hearing what President Carl Stelato and his fellow officers had to say for themselves, the board named an administrative committee to take over the local and clean up the mess. Within 48 hours of its appointment, the committee fired five minor officials who last year were found guilty, after a union trial, of membership in or subservience to the Communist party but had never been dismissed. Other heads are sure to fall. Within two months, according to UAW by-laws, an election of officers must be held. That will give Local 600's 45,000 members a last chance to vote as loyal Americans and intelligent, responsible unionists.

"Wetback" problem in reverse

"South of the border, down Mexico way" a new immigration problem is developing. This time it has to do with Gringos with *greenbacks*. Nina Wilcox Putnam, in the *American Mercury* for March, writes an eyewitness account of an unprecedented exodus of U. S. citizens to Mexico. They are taking their money along with them and they plan to stay. This mass migratory movement got under way shortly after the outbreak of the Korean war. It has now reached serious proportions. In 1949, 203,790 U. S. tourists visited Mexico. In 1951 all records were broken with over 700,000 reported as "tourists." "At the very least," reports Mrs. Putnam, "ten per cent of these alleged visitors have remained in the country with every intention of staying." In addition to the usual tourist funds, they have brought into Mexico a huge amount of "flight money." The Banco Nacional de Mexico reported \$245 million in refugee-money during the period from July 15, 1950 to February 15, 1951. This figure is now skyrocketing. Mrs. Putnam declares that "the latest figures available show capital investment pouring into the country at the rate of \$350 million a month." The invasion of so many Americans and so much money has not been an unmixed blessing for Mexicans. Prices have soared and housing shortages and social unrest among servants have developed. Through new legislation Mexico has sought to restrict legal immigration and foreign acquisition of property and business enterprises. On several scores, this is our "wetback" problem in reverse.

Save taxpayers \$11 million

With so many instances of political venality in the news, it is pleasant to report that three gentlemen on the public payroll recently saved taxpayers \$11 million. The story goes back to 1948 and concerns two of the most modern steamships flying the American flag—the *Independence* and the *Constitution*. It also

involves the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Under that law, which permits subsidies to the U. S. merchant marine, the U. S. Maritime Commission agreed to build the two liners and sell them to American Export Lines for 55 per cent of their base price. In other words, the Commission gave American Export a subsidy of 45 per cent. When news of the deal percolated through Washington, Lindsay Warren, Controller General, ordered a survey. This revealed, at least to his satisfaction, that the subsidy was excessive. At this point, Rep. Porter Hardy (D., Va.), of the House Merchant Marine Committee, entered the picture. Hearings before his special subcommittee amply confirmed Mr. Warren's protest. So sharply did Mr. Hardy criticize the Commission that President Truman shortly thereafter abolished it, setting up in its place the U. S. Maritime Administration. Unfortunately, the one commissioner who opposed the American Export Subsidy and helped to ferret out the facts, Raymond S. McKeough, was not appointed to the new board. That made Mr. Hardy suspicious. As the months went by and the Maritime Administration failed to act on the American Export case, his suspicions grew. Finally, his patience exhausted, he wrote a stiff letter to the new agency. That did the trick. American Export was recently notified that its subsidy had been cut from 45 to 27 per cent. The difference adds up to about \$11 million.

Missions to U. S. Indians and colored

Reading the annual report of the Commission for Catholic Missions among the Colored People and the Indians (in the U. S.) is always a fascinating business. The Commission gets its message across in simple but very telling fashion, merely by reprinting parts of the reports from dioceses all over the country. Since most of the letters come from the bishops themselves, the brochure has an intimate tone. It is impossible to read it without a feeling of pride and affection for our bishops and the priests and religious whose difficult labors they describe. The past year has brought encouraging results in the apostolate to both Negro and Indian. But in a real sense the Church has only begun the work that has to be done, especially among the Negroes. The possibilities are so enormous that one feels a kind of heartbreak underneath the statistics and the narratives of last year's work. About one-third of all American Indians are Catholic. Although the 15 million U. S. Negroes are still overwhelmingly Protestant, 1951's total of 9,462 adult colored converts proves they are attracted to the faith. Since 1940, Negro Catholics have increased by 52.5 per cent. The commission's noble work during the last 66 years has been made possible by the generosity of the faithful, but with greater generosity and harder work we can bring Christ to other millions of His Indian and colored children. The greatest need is for more vocations to work for this harvest. Our bishops cannot fulfill their obligations to these other sheep unless we give them active and whole-hearted support. And that means men and money.

WASHINGTON FRONT

Last week in this place I stated that the President's plan to reorganize the Internal Revenue Bureau "stood in a fair way to be blocked, and permanently." Hardly had that issue gone to press when the Senate accepted the plan by a vote of 53-37. I must confess that when I wrote, such a vote looked very improbable. Some of the most powerful figures in the Senate, led by Mr. George of Georgia, were on record against the plan. Credit for the happy outcome went to three "freshmen," Senators Humphrey (D., Minn.), Moody (D., Mich.) and Monroney (D., Okla.), who put it over with their dogged ingenuity. It was one of the few recent instances when speeches on the floor changed votes. Indeed, some of those who spoke against the plan finally voted for it. All but three of the Democrats who voted against it are from the South.

It is not likely, however, that any fundamental change of attitude towards the spoils system was indicated by the vote. If the scandals in tax collecting had not occurred, the favorable vote would not have happened, nor would the plan have been offered.

True, as the Civil Service Commission points out, 92 per cent of the 2.5 million Federal jobs are now on a merit basis. This same figure was 66 per cent under Taft, rose to 80 per cent under Hoover and Coolidge, and dropped to 65 per cent under Franklin Roosevelt, with all the depression and (later) war agencies operating. So the present state of the merit system is the best in our history. Besides, the FBI, the TVA and the Atomic Energy Commission have their own strict entrance and promotion requirements, and they account for nearly all of the 8 per cent unregulated by civil service. The postmasterships number less than one per cent of all Government jobs. Jobs at the disposal of the President are only one per cent of the total.

Does this mean that the vast majority of Government positions are on a sheer merit basis, not subject to "political clearance," as it is called? Anybody who has lived in Washington for any time knows enough to snicker at such a question. Anybody who is well known at all has the constant experience of being called to be asked if he knows Senator this or Representative that. The caller who puts such a question is nearly always someone who wants a new job or a promotion. The implication is that some "influence" would help.

Top officials of agencies are peculiarly vulnerable to such influence, particularly when it is exercised by a member of Congress who heads or is on a committee to which those officials must go for appropriations. This is a well-recognized part of the *mores* of Washington. It will probably never be completely eradicated. Civil service does help, by offering security of tenure and incentive for promotion, but it can be circumvented by various devices. **WILFRID PARSONS**

UNDERSCORINGS

Rev. Joseph F. Donnelly, director of the Hartford Diocesan Labor Institute, reports that all major labor-management agreements in the brass industry of the Connecticut Valley area, with one exception, have designated Good Friday as an annual paid holiday. In addition to the day's religious significance, the choice of Good Friday was also considered advantageous for practical reasons. No special plant shutdown will be necessary, since the holiday will always fall on the last day of the work week, and a long week-end break midway between Christmas and the summer vacation is thus made possible every year.

► Barton-Cotton, Inc., publishers and printers of 1102 N. Chester St., Baltimore 13, Md., have announced a contest for designs for Christmas cards that will be artistic and truly Christian. Prizes totalling \$2,500 in savings bonds will be offered for original pictures, border designs or complete Christmas cards. Entries must be in by May 15, 1952.

► Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wis., will represent the United States at the International Drama Festival to be held in Verona, Italy, in August. The first American group to participate in the Festival, the Catholic collegians will present a choric drama based on Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*.

► According to NC despatches, 3,730 Catholic foreign missionaries have been forced out of China since 1948, when the Reds launched their big drive to take over the country. Of the 1,121 foreign priests still in China last month, at least 75 per cent are under arrest, either in Communist jails or in their own houses. Protestant sources report that out of an estimated total of 3,000 Protestant foreign missionaries in China in 1949, less than 100 now remain.

► Leon Pacala, a Baptist divinity student at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, has announced that he will undertake extended studies at the Catholic University in Louvain, Belgium, in order to understand Catholic thought better. According to RNS, Mr. Pacala says that "most Protestant anti-Catholicism is nebulous." His studies abroad will be financed by a Rotary International Foundation fellowship.

► It will soon be possible for the children of American diplomats and businessmen to receive most of their education, American style, in the Holy City. For many years the Sisters of Marymount College, Tarrytown, N. Y., have conducted the International School in Rome, which educates boys up to the sixth grade and girls from the elementary grades to beyond high school. Next September, Brothers of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, from Notre Dame, Ind., will open an English-language school for boys. Classes in the new school will begin with the sixth grade and go through high school.

R. V. L.

Pleasing voters — or serving citizens?

It is about time for the American people to decide whether they want their public officials to please them as voters or to serve them as citizens. Ever since February 9, 1950, the conduct of men who should be statesmen has degenerated into the jockeying of politicians with a ballot-box fixation. That was the day when Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.), then largely unknown, breathed life into the hopes of the minority party by charging that he held "here in my hand" the never-revealed "list of 205" Communists supposed to be "still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

All politicians "play politics." So do many other people. Labor plays politics. Business plays politics. Farmers play politics. School teachers—and now doctors—play politics. The number of people who put the "general welfare" before their own interests (real or imagined) must be a minority.

The first law of politics is self-preservation: to stay in office. No matter how public-spirited a politician may be, he cannot accomplish much if he fails to make the grade at the polls. The trouble today is that so many politicians are keeping their ears so close to the ground every time they open their mouths that their posture, at best very awkward, has lost all semblance of statesmanship.

The most obvious illustration right now is Tom Connally (D., Tex.), chairman of the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee since 1941, except for the GOP interlude of 1946-48. An old Wilsonian Democrat, "Tawm" has hitherto consistently supported the Administration's foreign policy. Of late he has been emitting very un-Connallian utterances—decrying "hand-outs," complaining that "we can't go on forever supporting countries all over the world," lecturing the French and even telling off W. Averell Harriman, Director of Mutual Security. The financial and world-economic background of the latter, one would think, might suggest to Mr. Connally a little more respect for Mr. Harriman's judgment of what we can afford.

Why is "Tawm" so tigerish these days? *He is up for renomination in Texas next May.* A schism has rent the Texas Democrats since 1944. (The story is unfolded in *Southern Politics* (1950), by V. O. Key Jr.). The "Texas Regulars," conservative in economics, have caused "the most bitter intra-Democratic fight along New Deal and anti-New Deal lines in the South." The 74-year-old Senator has apparently decided that to insure his own renomination and re-election, he had better line up with the Texas Chambers of Commerce in a hurry. At least, that's the explanation all the political commentators give. If untrue, all we can say is that Mr. Connally has not even tried to persuade anyone that his switch was caused by sincere scruples which just *happened* to coincide with personal political opportunism.

EDITORIALS

The same thing is true of the Administration's belated efforts to clean house and its very recent concern over lagging production of warplanes. In both cases punishment at the polls seems to be a stronger motive than honesty in government and national security. Things are that bad.

Only the people themselves can prevent this over-politicizing of public life. They ought to let the politicians know *now*, long before November, that they want to be *served* as citizens rather than merely *pleased* as voters. If the people do not recognize their own long-range interests, of course, we can only hope that those of their representatives who do will carry the day. Otherwise ballot-box politics, holding sway where statesmanship should reign, may cause serious damage to ourselves and the rest of the globe at this critical juncture in our emerging leadership of the free world.

Zero hour in steel

Just about the time the presses begin to turn out this week's issue of *AMERICA*, two extremely important announcements will come from Washington. The first will emanate from the Wage Stabilization Board, which is scheduled to make known on March 20 its recommendations for a settlement of the steel dispute. The other one will come from a meeting of the wage policy committee of the United Steelworkers of America. It will be the union's answer to a WSB plea to postpone its strike call. Having no means of reading the minds of the persons concerned, we can only report here what appears to be the most reliable scuttlebutt going the labor-management rounds.

First of all, most observers are betting that the union will bow to the Government and postpone its strike date from March 23 to April 4. The union will do this even though its leaders have small hope of reaching an agreement with the industry on the basis of WSB recommendations. It will do it because if there was ever a strike which steelworkers do not want, it is this one.

There also seems to be a consensus that WSB will recommend a "package" settlement of from 15 to 18 cents an hour. Some of this money would go for paid holidays, some to wipe out inequities between job rates, most of it to boost hourly wage rates. That kind of settlement would fall safely within the stabilization formula. It is little more than half what the union originally asked. Since steelworkers have not had an increase in wage rates since December, 1950, the board can scarcely offer them less. As it is, an 18-cent hike

would not do much more than bring the steelworkers abreast of the auto workers.

So far as the union shop goes, it appears that the board will not recommend it, but will strongly exhort the parties to bargain over it. The steel union has a number of union-shop contracts in the industry, but the big companies, led by U. S. Steel, remain bitterly opposed. Though this type of security is permitted by the Taft-Hartley Act, "Big Steel" continues to fight it "on principle." Last year the Steelworkers won a series of Government-supervised union-shop elections. The union won at U. S. Steel, Bethlehem, Inland and Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and it won by heavy majorities. Nevertheless, according to informed opinion, WSB will not dare to recommend the union shop, though on this point informed opinion is not unanimous.

WSB has nothing to do with prices, but prices are the key to the settlement of the wage dispute. The agency which has, the Economic Stabilization Board, is said to have offered the industry a jump of \$2.69 a ton, under the Capehart Amendment to the Defense Production Act. (This is the amendment which decrees that price ceilings should reflect all cost increases from the start of the Korean war to July, 1951.) The industry refuses to listen to anything less than \$6.60 a ton. That is its minimum price for accepting a 15-cent wage increase.

Should there be a strike, the workers will be in the anomalous position of hitting the bricks to win a price increase for the bosses. All the pressure will be on the Government. Steel management has only to sit pretty and wait developments. And the public will condemn the workers for stopping production of a key defense metal. No wonder Mr. Murray and his followers are reluctant to strike. They are between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Parents and delinquency

One important factor contributing to the increase of juvenile delinquency is the wide difference children discover between the morals adults *teach* them and the actual adult *behavior* they witness. So said Dr. Robert V. Seliger in Baltimore on March 16, in announcing the fourth annual survey on delinquency in America, to be published by the National Committee on Alcohol Hygiene, Inc., of which he is the executive director. As examples of the moral inconsistencies that children witness Dr. Seliger instanced governmental scandals, tax evasions and the practice of "fixing" traffic tickets. Children learn, he said:

... about governmental scandals and tax evasions and discover that not too many perpetrators of such misdeeds are brought to trial, and that still fewer are ever convicted, and if convicted are given light sentences; and then are later often pardoned or paroled.

The root of the trouble, he went on to emphasize, is that society has "fallen down on the job," that ethical and moral standards "have been lowered by the sup-

posedly responsible adults, with subsequent blundering along by the children through the trial-and-error method."

When these and similar discrepancies between moral teaching and moral action are discovered by the child in his own parents, the result is likely to be particularly disastrous, for it is precisely in the home that "the strongest influences should be present to prevent juvenile delinquency."

The great responsibility of parents, then, is to teach their children not merely by *words*, but by *example*, that law is to be respected, that good living is an imperative, that a philosophy of "anything goes if you can get away with it" is immoral. True, both civil and moral laws still bind, even if parents fail to show respect for them in specific behavior patterns. But children (and many adults, too) do not make that nice distinction. The power of example still speaks loudest in the formation of character. This should be particularly true of the Catholic home.

One practical application suggests itself in this election year. Feeling is bound to run high. Campaigners will exaggerate the supposed vices of their opponents. Parents ought to take this opportunity to teach their children, both by word and example, the moral duty of respecting the sincerity of others and the moral wrong involved in *recklessly* imputing evil motives to men with whom one disagrees on public issues. Since these issues are complex to begin with, parents ought to be careful to show respect for men in high station and to impress upon their children the respect due to public authority. Cannot they also help children to understand that critics may have selfish interests they may be trying to protect?

Parents who teach *and do*—a characteristic of Our Lord that the Evangelists emphasize—will not only be helping to prevent juvenile delinquency. They will also be doing the more positive job of actively forming sound, socially virtuous citizens of tomorrow.

"Groupthink"

As a word, "groupthink" is a coinage—a loaded one, its inventor, William H. Whyte, admits. In *Fortune* for March he uses this term to describe a peculiar notion that seems to be pervading American life: the idea that the individual himself has no meaning except as a member of a group. It is not just a question of our instinctive habit of trying to keep up with the Joneses. It denotes a "rationalized conformity—an open, particular philosophy which holds that group values are not only expedient but right and good as well."

Three assumptions are clustered together to form this new concept. First, moral values and ethics are relative, as the cultural anthropologists are at great pains to point out. If the cultural pattern in society today is for young people to enjoy premarital sex relations, then *that* is the new "value" and you err if you expect them to be "Victorian." Similarly, if the big executive insists that his subordinate's wife put good public relations ahead of the privacy and dignity of

her home, then the little employe had better conform or be fired.

Secondly, what is important is the harmonious functioning of the group itself: the ideal hero is the group-trained lad who does fine teamwork *for teamwork's sake*, not necessarily for any further goal.

Thirdly, the best way to achieve this perfect group harmony is through the application of scientific techniques. Hence the burgeoning of "social technicians," "group interaction," etc., which we see today.

It would be a mistake to imagine that this tendency affects only "advanced thinkers" and progressive educators. After polling the man in the street, Elmo Roper reported that the ordinary parent's second strongest motive for sending children to high school is "to teach them to get along better with other people." There is also a highly conservative type of group thinking. There is even a religious type, governed almost exclusively by the thought-patterns of the environment in which the individual happens to grow up. Such a religious "group-thinker" suspects anyone who does not conform to national and local peculiarities of religious outlook. This is found among Catholics as well as others.

The escape from the confusion of group conformity for group conformity's sake does not lie in a return to rugged individualism. Learning to work and live together is imperative for our national life as a whole, and for every part of it. The key to genuine, constructive group action lies in frankly recognizing that certain moral and religious values do not change. The reason why we should strive to work together is precisely that we wish to preserve those values among the storms and strains of a changing society.

The greatest asset any group can possess—whether it be a school, a business concern, a trade union or a community organization—is the man or woman who for the *very good of the group itself* is not afraid to expose injustices or other wrongs within the group, while at the same time working earnestly for the good of the whole. This is not mere mud-slinging, but constructive action.

There is a body of Christian philosophy for group thinking and group action. It is based on the concept of man as a social being bound by many social ties. It recognizes the moral law as the norm of action for both individuals and groups. The effect of this kind of group thinking is not the suppression of the individual personality, but its proper development according to the divine plan.

Recent years have shown that Catholics can take an active part in projects for community organization and aid by their initiative. In New York, a fine example was offered by the plan for improving human relations through community action which was described by Dean William F. Russell of Teachers College in AMERICA for April 5, 1947. Wilmington, Delaware (AM. 12/15/51), and Manhasset, Long Island (AM. 2/12/49), have been widely quoted as instances where love of God and neighbor inspired intelligent group thought and group action. There is no need for any of us to be hypnotized by "groupthink."

Natural law in Cleveland

In view of the prevalence of pragmatism in American jurisprudence—of the theory, that is, that "what works" and "produces the desired results" is therefore "good"—many Americans have begun to look to the natural law for a safer and more just basis of civil law. Pragmatism, they have come to see, offers no guide whatsoever in defining what results ought to be "desired." It rhymes with tyranny as well as with just systems.

This Review has already reported the pioneering efforts of Notre Dame's Institute of Natural Law (AM. 1/14/50), which has now convened for five consecutive years, and that sponsored over a year ago by Loyola University of Los Angeles (AM. 12/9/50). It is a pleasure now to add Cleveland to the growing number of places where institutes have been held.

The Newman Club of Western Reserve University undertook to stimulate the interest of Clevelanders in this revival by sponsoring an institute last month. Professor J. Norman McDonough, faculty adviser to the Newman Club (and an America Associate), took the initiative. His plans were forwarded by Andrew C. Putka, law-student member of the graduate chapter and president of the National Federation of Newman Clubs. Faculty-members, civic and church leaders, practising lawyers and students all cooperated, the lawyers contributing to the fund necessary to engage such speakers as Dr. Heinrich Rommen of St. Thomas College, St. Paul, and Rev. John C. Ford, S.J., of Boston College, as well as to send out invitations. Rev. Paul J. Hallinan, chaplain, wisely guided the planning. Dean Fletcher R. Andrews acted as host.

These details show that the door is open to those who are willing to take concrete means to bring the moral concepts of the natural law to the notice of the legal profession. Dean George Neff Stevens of the Buffalo School of Law, who had been invited, wrote that he had called the Cleveland Institute to the attention of Catholic lawyers in his city, with the suggestion that the same idea be tried out there.

An institute may not succeed in answering all the questions of those to whom the natural law, for one reason or another, is largely unknown. But if it stirs up interest in it and dispels common misconceptions about what we mean by "the natural law," such a meeting accomplishes a great deal. In Cleveland, both Dr. Rommen and Father Ford explained how, through lamentable misunderstandings, the natural-law moral philosophy had fallen into disrepute among American jurists. They rejected "what they knew not."

The third speaker, Federal Judge Robert N. Wilkin, showed how the natural law forms the basis of civic cooperation:

In religion there is sectarianism and bigotry. In economics there is competition. In politics there is rivalry. But the law of nature and the rights which it affirms draw all reasonable men into a unity of purpose and harmony of effort.

Have we ever had greater need of a basis of unity?

Stalin's spring offensive

Richard L-G. Deverall

PLANS ARE HATCHING in Moscow for Stalin's spring offensive. Last year it was the "peace signature" campaign. This time it's a world-wide economic drive, opening with a trade conference in Moscow April 3. The Kremlin hopes to undermine the unity of the Allies by exploiting the present dangerous imbalance in world trade. Stalin is ready to furnish raw materials to the war-weakened European nations, and to buy their capital goods in return. The Soviet spider thus hopes to entice them into its economic web.

Last year Stalin hid inside the Picasso Dove of Peace. This year the Trojan Horse is the "peaceful coexistence theory," according to which Communist and non-Communist nations can live together in peace and harmony. The emphasis now is on *trade*, for their mutual benefit.

Two distressing developments in the non-Communist world make this revival of the "coexistence" tactic dangerously opportune. The first is the Anglo-American crisis *vis-à-vis* Japan and the future role of Japan in Southeast Asia. The second is the developing trade-currency crisis in England and France.

The Stalin master plan, exploiting these simultaneous crises, will be unfolded in Moscow on April 3 when hundreds of foreign industrialists and traders will convene for a week to talk business. As the *Daily Worker* announced on January 20, the Kremlin's World Economic Conference will seek to improve "the living standards of the world's peoples through peaceful co-operation of different countries and systems, and by development of economic bonds between all countries." In reality, the conference will aim to split the free world and expand the "ruble bloc."

NEW SOVIET TACTICS

The "peaceful coexistence" theory must be viewed against the facts of Soviet ideology and history. The ultimate goal of the Soviet Union is to foment world revolution until every non-Communist nation is part of a single economic system bound together into a political Commonwealth of Socialist Republics. Like Lenin before him, Stalin has repeatedly affirmed and reaffirmed this aim. In reaching the objective, however, the Communist Revolution "ebbs and flows."

In a period of "flow," the Soviet Union is aggressive, adds territory and resorts to military force and other devices to subvert non-Communist forces. In a period of "ebb," when the defenses of the free world against Communist aggression are strong, the Kremlin calls a halt and regroups its forces for the next big push.

After Russia was invaded by Hitler in 1941, the Communists were on the defensive "ebb." There they re-

Mr. Deverall (B.S. in Ed., Villanova, '38) has been pre-occupied with the problems of Asia since 1944. He served as chief of the Education Branch under the U. S. Occupation in Japan (1946-48) and has since made several long trips in Asia for the Free Trade Union Committee. He left Brooklyn, his home, on March 16 for Pakistan. He here exposes Stalin's new strategy to split the free world by trade offers.

mained until the Yalta agreement and other wartime events played into their hands. By 1945 a "flow" was again discernible. It was not a full "flow," however. The Kremlin felt obliged to combine its aggressive designs against China and Eastern Europe with some double talk about "peaceful coexistence."

The Soviet gas balloon was punctured, however, when the Communists tried to disrupt the Marshall Plan and brutally dragged Czechoslovakia behind the Iron Curtain early in 1948. In March of the same year President Truman made the historic decision that it was impossible any longer to put faith in Soviet pledges of cooperation. The cold war then went into high gear. Our resistance mounted with the establishment of NATO and intervention in Korea.

During May and June, 1951, Russians and Red Chinese therefore again started publishing articles about "peaceful coexistence," presaging a major shift in Soviet tactics. Within the month the change was emphasized when Kremlin house-boy Jacob Malik proposed a "truce" in Korea. Early in July the USSR launched a new publication, the English-language *News*, which has since hammered on the theme of "peaceful coexistence" with particular, pointed reference to Britain. In December of 1950 Comrade Beria declared in the Communist *New World Review*:

Today we have incomparably greater potentialities for business relations with capitalist countries . . . It is not the fault of the Soviet Union that the rulers of these states have . . . taken the course of undermining and disrupting economic relations with the USSR.

Russia has now adopted a new tactic: that of splitting the Western Allies. On January 21 of this year Peter N. Pospelov, speaking before Stalin and the Politburo on the anniversary of Lenin's death, predicted a "general crisis" of capitalism and said that the complete victory of communism was now in sight. Meanwhile the Russians flooded their press with more overtures to the British, lamented the difficulties of the British Empire and indicated that *the Russians would be glad to help the British preserve their empire*. This is new.

The Russians are also wooing the West Germans with tales of the huge success of Stalin's Council for Mutual Economic Aid (Comecon) and with hints that Western Germany would be better off inside Comecon than allied with the Marshall Plan countries. Early in February, Mrs. Roosevelt reported from France that the same sort of propaganda was seeking to attract French businessmen and industrialists.

On the other side of the world, the Russians are particularly wooing India and Japan. For some years the Soviet press has denounced the "poison" of Gandhism and has called Nehru "the lackey of American imperialism." The Indian Communists recently shifted from their policy of insurrection to one of quasi-Gandhian peace and nonviolence, and the Soviet Union began speaking in a new and gentle voice. India has bitten hard on the sugar-coating of this transformed Soviet propaganda. The recent International Industries Fair held in Bombay included a huge and very vocal Soviet exhibit. Now the USSR is playing a major role in the International Film Festival, using culture as a wedge for economic penetration of India.

Since last November the Kremlin has been wooing the Japanese. Despite the fact that Moscow recently denounced the Emperor as a "war criminal" and has ordered its party in Japan to fight an underground battle against the Tokyo regime, Russia is offering to sell coal to Japan at \$10 per ton, in contrast with the American price of \$30 per ton. As Russia goes about the business of seducing the Japanese, Soviet propaganda emphasizes the theory of "peaceful coexistence."

BRITAIN, JAPAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

The resurrection of Japan as the major industrial nation of Asia interests Moscow and troubles London. It troubles London because if Japan expands into Southeast Asia, buying food and raw materials and offering in return maritime-banking-insurance services and consumer and capital goods, the Japanese will be directly competing in a large part of the Commonwealth's sterling bloc.

This incipient trade war has matured during the past three years and is now entering a crisis stage with the approaching implementation of the Japanese Peace Treaty. The British view is that Japan should direct her export trade to Red China, since China is the "natural market" for Japan. This policy would deflect Japanese competition from the Asian sector of the Commonwealth. The British argument suffers, however, from the fact that Nippon has recovered most remarkably *without* sizable trade with China. Moreover, Japan is logistically close to Southeast Asia, whereas Britain's lines are thousands of miles long and pass through the currently disturbed Suez Canal.

India is also involved in this competition for trade, as can be seen from the activities of the Indian Mission in Tokyo. There Chief K. K. Chettur works with Japan's left-wing Socialists in spreading "neutralism" and pushing for Japanese economic cooperation with Red China and the Soviet Union.

London's apprehensions over expanding Japanese trade in Southeast Asia (a trade which the United States favors) is understandable. The British rearmament

program means a cut in consumer goods and in the amount of machinery available for export to Asia. That gives Japanese businessmen a chance to capture British markets. On the other hand, the Japanese are shying away from rearmament and devoting their industrial capacity to making the goods which Asia needs.

Britain can hardly welcome a recent announcement of Nippon's economic Stabilization Board. The board declared that the Japanese Government will underwrite the investment throughout Southeast Asia of \$91.25 million during the next five years. The Japanese program follows by a few months the launching of the Commonwealth's Colombo Plan for Asia, which excludes Japan and appears to be in part a drive to build up the sterling bloc at the expense of Japan. Nevertheless, Pakistan is making plans for industrialization with Japanese machinery and technical aid.

Japanese capital is entering the Portuguese colony of Goa in India to develop iron-ore deposits for the blast furnaces of Japan's huge steel mills. In India, in Indonesia, in Thailand and in Malaya the Japanese are planning other investments to exploit rich resources of raw materials and build a new Asian-Japanese "co-prosperity sphere," relying on commerce instead of arms.

British fear of Japan is heightened by the latter's successful negotiations with the Philippines and Indonesia over war reparations. These nations have accepted the principle that Japan will pay reparations in the form of technical "know-how" and services. *This arrangement will help to put Japan back in business throughout Southeast Asia as the industrial "elder brother" of the rich but industrially backward former colonial areas.*

The British-owned *South China Post Herald* charged last January that the Americans were supplying cheap cotton to Hong Kong's "worst rival" (i.e., Japan), while banning shipment of American cotton to Hong Kong lest it fall into Red Chinese hands. The Hong Kong paper said that the Americans were backing Nippon in plans to flood Southeast Asia with "cheap" textiles which, they tartly noted, would go to Red China anyway. This ill feeling between Britain and the United States over the economic role of Japan in Southeast Asia is exacerbated, as David Lawrence pointed out recently, by the British belief that the Korean War is a "mistake" which should be liquidated as rapidly as possible.

The problem of Japan's economic relations with Southeast Asia is real and urgent. It cannot be solved by mere stopgap measures. We have somehow to find a policy which will promote the prosperity of the free world and fit West Germany and Japan into it without driving Britain and France into bankruptcy. At the



same time we must continue to deny to Mao Tze-tung the capital and consumer goods he desperately wants for his Red Chinese military juggernaut. The need for such a policy emphasizes the sectional nature of the Marshall Plan and suggests that it has been at best a stopgap program too much concentrated on Europe to the neglect of the rest of the free world.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

The economy of the British Commonwealth depends in an important way on the rich dollar-earning tin mines, rubber plantations and similar raw-material sources of India, Ceylon, Malaya, North Borneo and other countries formerly attached or still attached to London. These free nations, dominions, colonies and trusteeships are members of the sterling bloc. This is larger than the Commonwealth, because it includes Burma, Iceland, the Irish Republic, Libya and other countries. The distinction is very important. Although the United Kingdom and some other Commonwealth countries are suffering rising dollar deficits, the colonies controlled from London have a surplus and furnish many dollars to the sterling bloc.

British gold and dollar reserves amounted to \$2.696 billion in 1946. Within two years they fell to \$1.340 billion. Devaluation of the pound in 1949 helped to slow American imports into the sterling bloc and stepped up dollar-earning exports. The outbreak of the Korean War and vast American stockpiling of essential raw materials which followed in 1950 raised world prices of tin, wool and rubber and sharply increased the Commonwealth's dollar earnings. By the middle of 1951 London's gold and silver reserves had therefore climbed to \$3.867 billions.

Within six months, however, the reserves dropped sharply. During the last three months of 1951 the sterling bloc suffered its worst drain in history—\$934 million. It is now estimated that if this drain continues, the sterling bloc, which now has a reserve of \$2.335 billion, will be bankrupt by the end of this year.

There are several explanations for this sudden reversal in Britain's economic prospects. First, the spectacular cold-war rise in the prices of rubber, tin, wool and other raw materials the sterling bloc sells has been halted and reversed, partly as a result of deliberate U. S. counter-measures. Meanwhile prices of U. S. goods the sterling bloc buys have remained high. Secondly, India's growing postwar deficit has driven her to make extraordinary withdrawals of blocked sterling reserves held by London. This blocked sterling is a debt which Britain owes India for services rendered during World War II. The vast use of blocked sterling for food imports has not helped either Britain or India. Moreover, British exports to the dollar area have fallen during the past year. The Iranian crisis of 1951 has, for the time being at least, deprived Britain of the profits and taxes normally due from the quasi-governmental Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Finally, the high cost of rearmament to Britain coincided with the end of Marshall Plan aid to the United Kingdom.

As Britain faces her third, and worst, postwar financial crisis, a conference of Commonwealth finance ministers met in London during January to plan further austerity, with further slashing of British and Commonwealth imports. The ministers also made a bid for American dollar investments in Commonwealth areas. They indicated quite clearly, however, that their chief hope was rising sales of raw materials in the American market. Thus, when Mr. Churchill came to America, he was among other things a high-level salesman of British-controlled Malayan tin.

France meanwhile suffers from currency debasement, high prices of imported raw materials, and large expenditures to finance the war in Indo-China. This February the French slashed imports in a frantic effort to avoid the same kind of crisis that threatens Britain.

As with the Anglo-American dilemma *vis-à-vis* Southeast Asia and Japan, so the solutions of the British and French crises must be global, long-term solutions and not just further stopgap measures, such as the injection of more dollar aid on a short-term loan or gift.

AIMS OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

The Soviet economic offensive is a reflection of its desperate need for strategic raw materials and machinery. The massive Russian arms program is taking its toll. So is the U. S. ban on shipments of strategic goods. There are signs, for instance, of a mounting economic crisis in China. If Stalin can secure a quick "peace" in Korea and break the economic boycott of Red China, he can, on the one hand, aid Mao to prepare for future aggression and, at the same time, use trade to infiltrate India and Japan and destroy the unity of the Atlantic Pact nations.

A meeting of the top-ranking Soviet and satellite officials of Comecon was scheduled to precede the World Economic Conference by one month. This conference sought to forge new trade deals binding together the economies of the European satellites with the economies of the Soviet Far East: Sakhalin, the Communist-controlled sections of Indo-China, North Korea and Red China. *Tass*, for example, has been playing heavily on the note that the opening up of "huge" markets in Red China is a "fact" which cannot be ignored by a Western Europe seeking to increase exports of machinery and manufactured goods.

Anthony Eden recently told the Commons that no British representatives would be sent to Moscow—but added that the Government would not block businessmen who wanted to go in a private capacity. Even Brazil has described the Moscow Conference as of "transcendental importance," and Joao Alberto, Director of the Economic Department of Brazil's Foreign Ministry, has announced that his Government will send two official observers to the Conference.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson recently returned from a European trip during which he discussed further financial and military help to the NATO community. If Mr. Acheson's plans are hamstrung by congressional slashing of American aid, the Soviet export

offensive may appear more acceptable than before, even to our anti-Communist allies.

The vital point, however, is that the Moscow Conference is based on the global interdependence of the Soviet world. In contrast, our policies have unfortunately suffered somewhat from sectional approaches. If we continue to concentrate on building the West while the Orient crumbles in disorder, the Moscow Conference may mark a milestone not only in further defeats for the free world in the East, but in the concurrent deterioration of the free world in the West.

If America and her allies, by speedy action, can bring to fruition a plan for global co-prosperity of the free world, we can sharpen the internal crisis in Red China and perhaps so weaken the Soviet Union's ruble-bloc economy that the Russians will be forced to turn from a war to a peace economy in order to save their own necks. The need for global economic action by the free nations was never so urgent—and it must be on a complete East-West basis. *Our job is, by bold proposals of our own, to turn the Moscow Conference into a crushing defeat for the Russians and to make Stalin and Pospelov eat their words.* If we take such action now, then not the free world, but the Communists would face an "internal crisis." Will we take it? Or will we make "economy" rather than *victory* our slogan?

Vocations come from Christian families

John and Eileen Farrell

A LARGE INCREASE in vocations to the religious life is one of the pressing needs of the Church in the United States today. Faced by the difficulty of bringing an adequate stream of aspirants to the waiting doors of convents and seminaries, some religious have suggested de-emphasizing, even to the point of abolishing, courses on marriage and family life in our high schools and colleges.

We believe this is anything but a wholesome approach, for two reasons. First, even if it did produce an upsurge of vocations, the gains would be small and temporary. And second, in the long run it would accentuate, rather than eliminate, the actual cause for the decline in vocations, namely the disintegration of the family.

Vocations come from God. But they come, except in rare instances, through the family. They come through families overflowing with the vitality of Chris-

Mr. and Mrs. Farrell are active in Cana Conference work in Chicago. They wrote "Cana: an apostolate of Christian marriage" in AMERICA for June 11, 1949.

tian life. Religious vocations are fewer today, not because there is too much emphasis on marriage and family life now, but because there has been too little emphasis in the past.

SET-BACK FOR THE FAMILY

The young men and women who came to maturity in the 'twenties and 'thirties are the fathers and mothers of possible novices and seminarians today. Marriage and family life in America were deteriorating in those decades, as in the following ones, and Catholic marriages partook of the general blight. The old-country cultures of many Catholic families, the wellspring of vocations in earlier years, began to change radically in the new environment. Impatient to be on an equal footing with their non-Catholic neighbors, people shed much of their native religious intensity along with their foreign accents, and set about getting ahead.

Losing integration, direction, meaning, the Christian family lost its identity. Unless and until it begins again to be a little Church, with the God-centered atmosphere that demands, it is vain to hope for plentiful religious vocations.

It is true that the work of re-Christianizing the family is being undertaken by the family apostolate and that progress is being made wherever the movement has taken root. We have, for instance, noticed a remarkable sense of direction among numerous young families who have been reached by the Cana Conference and the Christian Family Movement. Their recognition of what a Christian family is, and their deepening intellectual perception of the values of the religious life make us sure that they will not only accept but foster vocations among their children. For many of them this will be a complete change from the tradition—or lack of tradition—in which they themselves grew up.

But the existence of a family apostolate does not mean that the school can rest on its oars. The family movement is both young and small. Even though it is reaching out to engaged couples and young working people through marriage preparation courses, it is by no means reaching all. Obviously our schools are in a powerful position to affect the future of the Catholic family by instructing and inspiring large numbers of boys and girls who will be tomorrow's parents.

If we are going to face the problem of religious vocations honestly, we have to take the long view. From a given number of thoroughly Catholic families will come a large harvest of vocations. From the same number of "Sunday Mass" families (or even "baptism, marriage and last rites" families) will come little or no harvest. Further, other factors being equal, more vocations will come from a large Catholic child population than from a small one. And thoroughly Catholic families, taken as a group, are larger families.

Any step that is taken, at any level, toward promoting Christian family life will automatically promote religious vocations. As Cardinal Suhard said in *Priests Among Men* (Integrity Publishing Co., New York, N. Y., 1950):

... homes founded on such a high spiritual ideal are the seed of numerous and generous vocations in future generations. It is not by under-emphasizing the spirituality of marriage that voluntary celibacy will be exalted. The conclusion is completely otherwise.

Nor will all of the results be long-range and dependent upon the next generation. Boys and girls who get this kind of formation can wield a surprising amount of influence in their own homes, not only with parents, who do learn from their children, but with younger brothers and sisters. They can, if inspired to set about it, make quite a change in the home atmosphere here and now.

We do not know whether, as has been charged, marriage has been given "the glamour treatment" in some of these courses on marriage and family life. We hope not. However, the vocation of Christian marriage must be glorified if we are to combat the glamorizing of multiple marriage, of promiscuity, of infidelity. But this glorifying does not mean depicting the joys without being equally specific about the sometimes harsh necessities. It demands a realistic balance if it is to do justice to marriage as a way of life requiring its own spirit of poverty, chastity and obedience.

MARRIAGE VS. VOCATIONS?

Can such a picture of marriage divert possible religious vocations? On the contrary, it should help the uncertain to arrive at a well-reasoned choice. An understanding and love of marriage and family life is one of the marks of an ideal religious. A good priest could have been a good husband and father; a good nun could have been a good wife and mother. Each vocation demands for its best expression a mature Christian. When this perspective is grasped, the two vocations no longer seem worlds apart and the choice between them ceases to be so sharp.

There is another reason why it would be ill-advised to scale down or discontinue courses on marriage and family life. And that is why students living in a non-Christian society have a real need of a proper evaluation of sex.

The pressure of the sex motif in every form of entertainment, in advertising, in fiction, in the news, is overwhelming. Early dating and steady dating provide additional hazards at an age when youth are most vulnerable. Blanket condemnations of impurity do not suffice, because they do not reach the individual. What young girls and boys need, and need very much, is a reverence for sex as God created it, and an ability to keep it in its right context. How they are going to achieve this without potent inspiration and motivation toward Christian courtship and marriage, it is difficult to see.

The underlying emphasis in all of this, however, should not be either to promote marriage or to promote religious vocations. It should be to give a vision of the whole structure of vocation, so that each individual will consciously seek the level at which his own endow-

ments best fit him to serve God. It should be to develop mature Christians who can see the totality of Christian living and who are interested in finding their most useful place in it.

In this way, instead of setting up artificial barriers between the various parts of the Christian community, and thus furthering its disintegration, we shall be uniting and strengthening it. Both those who marry and those who become priests or enter religion, comprehending and loving each other's vocations, can then stand side by side in giving natural and supernatural parenthood to the world.

Catholic leadership training

Chuck Boyer

THE TOASTMASTER was introducing the next speaker. "... and here, gentlemen, is Herb Smith speaking on the subject: 'Sport clothes should not be worn when assisting at Holy Mass.' Mr. Smith ..."

Mr. Smith was not prepared to speak on the impropriety of sport clothes at Mass. He had not known what his topic was to be, in fact, until the toastmaster announced it. But he stood up before the group and spoke convincingly and confidently for a full two minutes.

Mr. Smith was addressing fellow members of a new lay organization, the Charles Carroll of Carrollton Club. Its purpose: "... to encourage and help develop ability among Catholic men to speak effectively on Catholic subjects and to defend intelligently the Church's stand on social and civic matters involving questions of morals, religion or religious principles ...". One night each week in a dozen cities and towns located in the Los Angeles area of Southern California, club members gather to practice and learn the fine art of public speaking.

Named in honor of the famous Catholic layman Charles Carroll, the club was organized in 1949 by Edwin C. Boehler and James F. Neumeyer of Huntington Park, a small community on the outskirts of Los Angeles.

Acceptance of the idea was immediate and widespread. Within six months clubs were formed in several nearby towns; in a year the movement was definitely established. Farmers, factory workers, salesmen, storekeepers, barbers, laborers, lawyers—Catholic laymen from every field of endeavor, every economic level—came to learn how to act, write and speak on Catholic

Mr. Boyer is classified advertising manager for the Long Beach, Calif., Press-Telegram. This is his first magazine article.

matters when occasion demanded. Twelve clubs are now active with four more in the process of organizing, and at the beginning of this year the entire organization had a total membership of more than three hundred.

Every Carrolltonian is encouraged to speak as often as meeting time will permit. For this reason business sessions are brief. An "Our Father," led by the club chaplain, starts the proceedings. The toastmaster follows with the "warm-up": as the member is introduced at the rostrum he hears for the first time the subject he will discuss for one minute. His remarks must occupy the full minute but a bell "rings him down" when 60 seconds have passed. The purpose of this part of the program is exclusively to "loosen up" the speaker, make him relax, and force him to think quickly. Humorous subjects generally are best. Such topics as "I think Bugs Bunny is cute," "What happened to the two pants suit?" and "How to keep from doing the dinner dishes" prove to be ideal. "Situation" topics are popular, too. Typical is: "You are an hour late for work. Just as you slip through the door of your office, your boss spies you. What do you say?"

Following the "warm-up" the members launch immediately into Table Topics. These are always related to moral or religious questions. "The Blessed Virgin's message at Fatima," "Who are the Christophers?", "Did you sign the Stockholm Peace petition?" and "Does the Church teach that war is ever justified?" would make a good sample list. Table Topics are only two minutes in length so Carrolltonians get splendid practice in making concise statements of belief in the shortest time possible. Again the bell is brought into play to prevent rambling.

The third and perhaps the most important part of the program, the five-minute prepared speeches, comes next. Four talks are presented by members who received their assignments at the previous week's meeting. It is here the Carrolltonian is given his greatest test. Here he has opportunity to show the results of his training and practice. He has had a week to prepare and perfect, so his talk must be outstanding. He may choose any topic he wishes but it must contain a lesson, stimulate interest and thought on "... questions of morals, religion or religious principles." Seldom does a five-minute speech fail to measure up to the high standards set by the club founders. Outsiders attending the meetings who expect to hear just another speech class in action are amazed by the excellence of thought presented by most Carrolltonians.

Last year in Long Beach, Calif., one member delivered a talk titled "The Man on the Outside" in which he belabored Catholics generally for their lack of attention at Mass, their casualness when witnessing the consecration of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

He posed the question of the "Man on the Outside"—the unbeliever—by asking, "How can Catholicism be anything very important when its own members show such small concern with the practice of their faith?" The following week another member countered with a speech called "The Man on the Inside."

"This unbeliever," he thundered, "how does he know what goes on inside a man's heart? Does God judge us by our external actions alone? Is it not more important that we first give our minds and hearts to God?"

"Let the man on the outside come inside," he cried; "let him see and learn that the great majority of Catholics are sincere and devout. And let him hear and understand the great Bible lesson of the publican and the sinner!"

At the conclusion of the five-minute talks, the evaluator holds forth. Carefully and constructively, he points out grammatical errors, "word-whiskers," poor organization and other speaking faults. In each case he offers encouragement and advice on specific shortcomings. Members rightfully consider the evaluation periods an all-important phase of the club's activity.

Just before adjourning, a perpetual trophy is awarded for the evening's best prepared speech. The presentation is made by the previous week's winner; both members are expected to speak briefly to the occasion.

Although officers of the clubs are elected for a one-year term, assignments for the jobs of Chairman, Toastmaster, Table-Topics-master and evaluator rotate each meeting. Through such assignments, as well as those of the "warm-up," Table Topics and prepared speeches, every member takes an active part in every meeting. Many are on their feet on three and four occasions during the evening. All considered, a Charles Carroll of Carrollton Club member can look forward to a stimulating, educational and entertaining two hours. Attendance is better than average as a result.

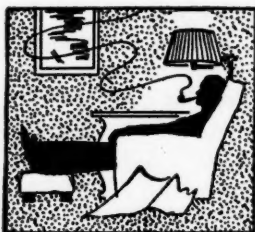
That the idea of co-founders Boehler and Neumeyer was a worthy one is attested to by the enthusiasm and friendly rivalry that sparks the get-togethers. Interest runs high in the subjects discussed; members often spend hours in search of material and rehearsal of speeches.

From the start the clubs furnished speakers for meetings of Catholic and non-Catholic organizations; demonstration teams were set up and are prepared to accept engagements on short notice. And everywhere these men go, their influence is felt, their new-found abilities recognized.

"Many of our Catholic men can be made into effective leaders in the causes which right thinking people value so much but do so little about," says co-founder Boehler. The Charles Carroll of Carrollton club movement is proof that it can be done.



FEATURE "X"



Msgr. Koenig, librarian, St. Mary's Seminary, Mundelein, Ill., and editor of Principles for Peace (1943) here takes issue with Fr. Parsons' review of George Kennan's American Diplomacy, 1900-1945 (AM. 1/19).

(We welcome this criticism and Fr. Parsons' reply. The question at issue—exactly how moral principles should be applied to the shaping and implementation of foreign policy—is of the highest importance. Even to explore the difficulties is a service. Ed.)

MY FIRST READING of George Kennan's *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950* gave me an entirely different impression from that expressed by Father Parsons in his Feature "X" review (AM. 1/19 p. 417). To do Mr. Kennan justice, I re-read his book with Father Parsons' interpretations in mind. Father Parsons observes that this book has caused considerable disagreement among reviewers. This disagreement, it seems to me, is due in no small measure to some confused ideas proposed by Mr. Kennan.

What is of particular interest to Catholics is the author's concept of the role of morality in international affairs. What does Mr. Kennan have to say on this subject? He opposes "the carrying-over into affairs of states of the concepts of right and wrong, the assumption that state behavior is a fit subject for moral judgment."

This is not an isolated statement. Elsewhere he writes that we should be ready

to admit the validity and legitimacy of power realities and aspirations, to accept them without feeling the obligation of moral judgment, to take them as existing and inalterable human forces, neither good nor bad, and to seek their point of maximum equilibrium rather than their reform or their repression.

Is it true that state behavior is not a fit subject for moral judgment? Should we accept power realities and aspirations without feeling the obligation of moral judgment? I ask Father Parsons and other Catholic teachers of political science if this is the doctrine being taught by Pope Pius XII in his frequent messages on peace. As far as I can learn from a careful reading of Mr. Kennan's book, he will admit that the science of ethics applies to individuals but not to nations, at least not when they are concerned with international relations.

What is the function of ethics or morality in international relations? On this score there is no hesitancy in Mr. Kennan's mind. In his own words,

[I] cannot resist the thought that if we were able to lay upon ourselves this sort of restraint and if, in addition, we were able to refrain from constant attempts at moral appraisal—if, in other words instead of making ourselves slaves of international law and morality, we would confine these concepts to the unobtrusive, almost feminine, function of the gentle civilizer of national self-interest in which they find their true value—if we were able to do these things in our dealings with the peoples of the East, then, I think, posterity might look back upon our efforts with fewer and less troubled questions.

Is this the function of morality in international relations—to be the "gentle civilizer of national self-interest"? What does it really mean to be the "gentle civilizer of national self-interest"? This is one of Kennan's pet phrases; he returns to it in another chapter. Just what he understands by this expression never does become clear.

Catholics hold that there is an objective standard of morality for all men and for all nations and that this, in its broadest common denominator, is what men know as the natural law. Though Mr. Kennan speaks frequently of "law," of national and international law, he never once refers to the "natural law." This is an obvious defect in his book. One cannot justifiably reject the legalistic-moralistic approach to foreign relations without even considering the natural law.

No Catholic can hold that the natural law does not bind states in their international relations. Yet Mr. Kennan seems to imply rejection of the natural law when he opposes "the carrying-over into affairs of states of the concepts of right and wrong, the assumption that state behavior is a fit subject for moral judgment." According to Mr. Kennan, morality should be only the "gentle civilizer of national self-interest."

But what if a conflict arises between national self-interest and morality? What happens when aggression is dictated by national self-interest? No one can deny that such a case may arise. Which has the prior authority—national self-interest or morality? Mr. Kennan is convinced that we must

... have the modesty to admit that our own national interest is all that we are really capable of knowing and understanding—and the courage to recognize that if our own purposes and undertakings here at home are decent ones, unsullied by arrogance or hostility toward other people or delusions of superiority, then the pursuit of our national interest can never fail to be conducive to a better world.

That one sentence betrays the confusion in Mr. Kennan's thinking. He maintains, on the one hand, that our own national interest is all that we are really capable of knowing—a statement as secularistic as anything I have ever read. On the other, he maintains that if our own purposes and undertakings here at home are decent ones, unsullied by arrogance or hostility toward other people or delusions of superiority, then the pursuit of national interest can never fail to be conducive to a better world.

But how can we tell whether our own purposes and undertakings are "decent" ones, "unsullied by arrogance or hostility toward other people," unless we have a *standard of morality by which to judge them*? Note well that he expects us to see that these acts are "unsullied by arrogance or hostility toward other people." We must take other people and other states into consideration. Is Mr. Kennan not urging us to pass *moral judgment* on our state behavior toward other people and at the same time declaring that *state behavior is not a fit subject for moral judgment*?

Why does Mr. Kennan fall into this contradiction? Apparently because morality for him is something completely *subjective* and *emotional*. It is all right for him to reject this subjective and emotional type of morality in international relations. But does he mean to reject *objective* morality in international affairs? That, as far as I can determine, is a question that Mr. Kennan has failed to consider.

Mr. Kennan is disturbed by the failure of our moral approach to the Manchurian crisis when American statesmen condemned the aggressors but were unwilling to employ force against them. This was due not to the failure of the principles of morality which permit the use of force to deter aggression but to the difficulty of mobilizing force in a democracy. The same answer can be given to our hesitancy in entering World War I and World War II. The difficulty was not that the principles of morality forbade us to use force but that it was impossible to mobilize this force at the beginning of these wars under our system of government.

Pius XII brilliantly explained the relation of force to morality and peace in his 1943 Christmas message:

A true peace is not the mathematical result of a proportion of strength. In its ultimate and deepest significance it is a moral and juridical act. It cannot, indeed, be brought about without resorting to force; and its very structure must have the support of a fair proportion of force. But the function of this force, if it wishes to remain morally righteous, must be to defend and protect right, not to diminish and oppress it.

This proper relation between force and morality needs to be emphasized among American Catholics today.

Pius XII does not believe that true peace will come from maintaining a delicate balance of power which Mr. Kennan advocates as the main function of diplomacy. True peace in its ultimate and deepest significance is a moral and juridical act. Now I will admit that the legalistic-moralistic approach to foreign relations which Mr. Kennan condemns is a Protestant or Freudian interpretation of law and morality. Whether he would also oppose the teaching of Pius XII is something I cannot answer. But it is something that should be brought to the attention of Catholics who read his book and it is a point that he might well consider. As a matter of fact, it is the most important question confronting the contemporary world.

HARRY C. KOENIG.

I WELCOME Msgr. Koenig's further discussion of George Kennan's *American Diplomacy, 1900-1950*. As I said in my original article (AM. 1/19, p. 417), the book is controversial. As I at least hinted, Mr. Kennan's thought processes are sometimes obscure, so it is well that they be examined. As Ambassador to Moscow, he is too important a person to be dismissed lightly.

The Monsignor quotes Mr. Kennan as opposing "the carrying-over into affairs of states of the concepts of right and wrong, the assumption that state behavior is a fit subject for moral judgment" (I have italicized what seem to me to be the controlling words) and another passage somewhat to the same effect. My own understanding of these passages was, not that Mr. Kennan rejected value judgments on the actions of states or that he thought their behavior was not "a fit subject for moral judgment," but that he deemed that such judgments should not formally enter into diplomatic negotiations. In fact, as I pointed out, Mr. Kennan constantly passes value judgments on states, especially on Russia. Only he thinks that such judgments should not be made a part of our international negotiations.

I feel that Msgr. Koenig takes this not in its relative but in its absolute aspect, for he immediately asks: "Is it true that state behavior is not a fit subject for moral judgment?" Mr. Kennan would, I think, immediately answer: "Of course it is a fit subject," since he makes many such judgments. Mr. Kennan did not say state behavior is not a fit subject for moral judgment, but only that it should not sway our realization of the realities with which we have to deal. Msgr. Koenig continues: "Should we accept power realities and aspirations without feeling the obligation of moral judgment?" And he appeals to the present writer and other political scientists to say whether this doctrine agrees with Pope Pius XII's messages on peace.

I am sure that most political scientists, and also Mr. Kennan, would agree with the Monsignor that we should not accept those realities "without feeling the obligation of moral judgment." But there is a difference between *feeling* this obligation (and even expressing it) and allowing this feeling to sway our actions in concrete negotiations that deal with the national or world common good. We can still feel and yet deal.

To make my meaning clearer, I understood Mr. Kennan to hold that we went off the beam with Woodrow Wilson, when we began to make our moral disapprobation an *essential part* of our foreign relations, even sometimes at the expense of our own and the world's common good. Logically, such an attitude would inhibit our dealing with Britain, France and a host of countries. Pius XI, speaking of Mussolini after the Lateran Treaty, said he would deal with the devil himself if he must. Here was moral disapprobation, but it was not "carried over into the affairs of states."

This relative position, and not the absolute one of Msgr. Koenig (with which in itself I agree), is, I think, the issue raised by Mr. Kennan, and it is worth debating on that basis.

WILFRID PARSONS

"Return to Chesterton"

Charles A. Brady

In reading Maisie Ward's considerable and absorbing pendant (*Return to Chesterton*. Sheed & Ward. \$4.50) to her massive primary biography of Gilbert Keith Chesterton, one cannot but be struck by the Wagnerian *leit-motiv* of elephants trumpeting loud through the memories both of those who knew him best and those who knew him hardly at all. The barber who shaved him found him "lying in bed like a huge elephant." The razor-minded Shavian who was his most redoubtable adversary in debate called him "a pantomime elephant."

One likes to think it was something more than the conventional physical resemblance, though that, of course, could not be gainsaid. For there was a spiritual bigness about G. K. C., a curious delicacy of mind and temper, an almost heraldic courtesy that was more than mere man size. And when Chesterton played with an idea, one remembered also the pachyderm's ballet poise, and the incredible tactile sensitivity of its probing trunk. What he affectionately labeled Clare Nicholl—"most real of fabulous animals"—was true of himself. Wells thought of him as a sort of spirit of Christmas Present, dispensing Old October from an inexhaustible flagon. That same heady malt of the mind went to the head of a whole generation and, in a way Housman did not intend, did much, much "more than Milton can to justify God's ways to man."

But if a monster out of Ariosto, Chesterton was invariably an Aristotelian monster as well, a valiant Hippogriff who rode the green and crimson rockets of his paradoxes to their inevitable conclusions; and if, on occasion, one fell to earth a blackened stick, he only dusted himself off with a Gargantuan chuckle and proceeded to light still another and, most likely, more outrageous one. In a sheerly marvelous letter recalling her childhood, Eleanor Belloc remembers seeing him, through the gloom of Victoria Station, as the good giant of London. It was most prescient. He was, in very truth, a Gog who kept his time and ours agog.

Yet, to quote the wisdom of little Bernard Nicholl who, when informed of Chesterton's death, remarked: "Do you know, I think my uncle Chestnut was not quite so fat as he pretended to be," there was a sense in which, like Falstaff, G. K. C. aided and abetted nature in his "larding the lean earth." He was not nearly so deliberate about his Falstaffery as—to cite a parallel instance—Shaw was about his Quixotry. But the humorous self-exaggeration was always there; and—again like Falstaff—this side of G. K. C. not only remains witty in itself but a continuing reason why wit is in others. Take, for example, an epigram duly recorded by Miss

LITERATURE AND ARTS

Ward from an eminent historian not otherwise conspicuous for wit, Christopher Dawson's quip that Chesterton's courtship represents "English suburban courtly love in the last decade of the nineteenth century."

In a sense, love's labors are never lost, but it is pleasant, all the same, to be able to report that Miss Ward's labor of love, on her side, turns out, on ours, to be a lovely labor. Mr. Chesterton's Mrs. Thrale—the parallel is not at all exact, of course—continues her indefatigable Boswellizing, which is all to the good, for, of all the personalities of English letters, only Chesterton and Dr. Johnson touch in the reader the self same nerve of rational delight. She amplifies her portrait of the Gothic Chesterton by noting E. C. Bentley's memory of the Greek primer scrawled over with drawings of goblins—a fitting prelude to the later esthetic of gargoyles; by recording, in letter and poem, G. K.'s inscape of his wife's face, together with the cockney paradox that for him the point of beauty rested in the Dickensian name of Blogg; by registering Rhoda Bastable's amusing detail that a tie was forgotten at the Chesterton wedding—but, one wagers, not wine.

We encounter G. K. C. as cat lover as well as dog lover; alarming a country constable with his sword stick and general Porthos demeanor; carrying crayons in his pocket to draw their patron saints for children; getting into a train with the *Yellow Magazine*; treasuring, in his garden, an oak that once marked the limit of Edmund Burke's land.

Miss Ward is surely right in her modest prefatory suggestion that her careful spadework may well have uncovered seeds for secondary intuitive biographers to warm into the life of art; that her two Chesterton books may serve "as a basis for those inspired guesses at truth which go much deeper than the most careful research." *Return to Chesterton* is full of extraordinarily suggestive source-material for some future Strachey or Maurois to work into tableaux and conversation pieces. Take, for example, her unearthing the shards of an ode to Waterloo Station, with, in the final two lines, this apposite epigraph for what critic-scholars must one day do with G. K.'s literary combination of cakes and ale and the grandeur that was in the beginning:

Geologists shall reconcile
Thy cake with Genesis . . .

Waterloo Station might almost be a colophon for the peculiar Chesterton brand of romanticism; Waterloo Station, in whose name, as in G. K.'s imagination, sound the bugles of history, in whose caverns burn the elf lights of his urban poesy, in whose carriages ride the mysteries of Holmes and Brown, outside whose portals pause the winged omnibuses of his rich English humor.

A perhaps equally suggestive tableau, and one prophetic of the philosophic high spirits of *Orthodoxy* and *The Everlasting Man*, is an early, Bedford Park period, knockabout harlequinade, contrived to satirize the comparative religionists, in the course of which Chesterton as Bacchus and an unidentified Thor pummel a poor pantaloone of a Professor Pumperdinkel. One of the very best plums in Miss Ward's Jack Horner's Pie is Eleanor Belloc's tribute to one of Uncle Gilbert's inspired puppet shows for the Belloc children, a tribute that is also a perfect summary of the cachet of *Father Brown*: "Gilbert could always murder without malice, savagery or hate."

Some of the better touches occur in the incomparable self-portraiture of Chesterton's own letters. Consider this definition of the "Grand Style," which was, in the last analysis, the quintessential Chesterton style, as "not only saying what you mean, but meaning the things that mean most. It has no other name but Nobility." Or this early account of a typical Chestertonian day: "It is all cut up into food and philosophy . . . mostly I am occupied having meals, sleeping and writing things on God." Or, from the same letter, a self-critique of a Chesterton fairy tale: "It is a fantastic trifling affair and merely contains the right view of life and the greater part of the religion of the future." Or, from a screed of October, 1899, this affirmation of the fundamental Chesterton touchstone and stumbling block: "this frivolity of profound love and knowledge." For are not all touchstones of the spirit simultaneously jesters, lovers, and stumbling blocks?

Some new light is cast on the multi-faceted personality that was Chesterton's. One realizes anew his well-nigh unbelievable mastery of the subtle social atmospheres of *vers de société* at its most engaging personal. He was also, on the evidence of certain other verses herein printed for the first time, an even greater love poet than we knew; and, curiously enough, a somewhat more lethargic workaday Catholic than one would have assumed, too busy sometimes with meditating on the Church Triumphant always to be meticulous about his sublunary transactions with the Church Militant.

There is a golden treasury of new quotations for the garnering here: on marrying a Catholic; on vocation; on liberalism in critical response. Among many especially relevant to our day one might excerpt these two: "I love patriotism but I dislike criminal asses." And, commenting on the deficiencies in human nature of certain great doctrinaire theorists he wrote against: "You have left certain human needs out of your books; you may leave them out of your republic." There

speaks the great pamphleteer of our day who kept in his dining room a picture of the Republic that was born on the field of Valmy, and who, when he spoke on the things that concern the City, spoke, like Burke, not in words alone, but in resounding letters of Roman bronze.

Miss Ward, in a quite Gilbertian fashion, likes to ticket one as either a "Gilbert person" or a "Frances person." The elect, of course, are both. I have always accounted myself a "Gilbert person," ever since the far-off wintry night when Mrs. Chesterton finally harried me out of a hotel room so that G. K. might at least see the other interviewers and, for once, arrive on time for the lecture he was scheduled to give. But that was twenty years ago and more. Now that I am long since married myself, I can recognize something of that diminutive recording angel's loving, self-sacrificing and necessary utility. Miss Ward has done well by the patient little wife of genius.



For those who already know him, a return to Chesterton in earnest marks the great joy of rediscovery, and, for those who do not, the greater joy of first discovery of a whole continent of the mind and spirit, an "untrod-den world of laughter and peril and change—a great white road across a hill." It marks as well a return to

home, as Patrick Dalroy sang of home in that most unearthly and beautiful of the fantastic novels, *The Flying Inn*:

Men that are men again; who goes home?
Tocsin and trumpeter! Who goes home? . . .
And a voice valedictory . . . Who is for Victory?
Who is for Liberty? Who goes home?

Home for Chesterton led home to his father's house where, as on the threshold of his works, he stands now, not a father-image like the more forbidding Belloc, but the archetypal uncle of modern letters. His *mappemounde* is quaintly pieced and plotted and gaily colored like the counterpane of childhood: lowlands of light verse; uplands of great biographies, of *Orthodoxy* and *The Everlasting Man*; sweet valleys of essay, and the white horse in the vale; high minsters of poem; fair parliaments of history, haut tournaments of debate; low raftered inns of jest and tale red-lit by the huge hearth fires of Chesterton's Christian humility and charity.

For this most Johnsonian of moderns who—in this respect, at least, unlike his eighteenth century prototype—never argued to win, always set sympathy high above argument and—for paradox is the law of life not just the hallmark of Chesterton—prevailed all the more for his humble forbearance. Like Newman, if not at all like the dourer Belloc, it was his greatest asset in controversy. As Margaret Monro puts it: "Per-

sonally, I think the strength of his influence lies in the fact that he was so uninterfering." Or, as he himself put it at a meeting of the Distributist League, he barred no one from membership, "except perhaps a Devil-worshiper."

He was a great Christian, a great poet, and a most original philosopher of our day who fulfilled Aquinas' definition of poet and philosopher conjoined in that he was ever concerned with the marvelous in all things. Like Johnson's merry friend, but without detriment to his philosophy, "cheerfulness was always breaking in." The twin piers of his metaphysic were merriment and wonder; and above them sounds the ramping Brighton music of his middleclass English heritage. Liberty and joy were his enduring passions. Where, except in Chesterton, can they be found conjoined today? At best, only children and poets possess both at once; and he was both poet and child. As he wrote to Bertram Hyde: "I think the children and the poets are more permanent."

The central position

CATHOLICISM AND THE WORLD TODAY

By Dom Aelred Graham. McKay. 234p. \$3

This March selection of the Catholic Book Club, the author tells us, "is neither an apologetic for Catholicism nor an exposition of its teaching." It is an essay on Catholicism's solution to the perplexities of our time. Instead of arguing with the Communist or the Liberal or the Protestant about specific points of debate, such as birth control, private property or papal infallibility, the author gets down to fundamental points at issue: the place of religion in individual and community life, the divinity of Christ, the establishment of the Church.

The book is valuable for this reason, for Catholicism will be taken seriously by outsiders only if its fundamental claims are vindicated in their minds—a point to which American Catholics, I am afraid, have not given sufficient attention as they have been presenting to contemporaries the Catholic answer to problems of passing importance.

The author introduces his subject with a challenging first chapter wherein he understandingly presents the most formidable and serious current objections to Catholicism and concludes from them that "the great debate has shifted . . . from the articles of faith to their underlying assumptions." Next he shows that Western civilization is confronted by a number of basic questions to which a "yes" or "no" answer must be given: Is human destiny bounded by life on this earth? Is man self-sufficient as re-

gards his well-being and happiness? Is there a providential God? Catholicism has definite answers to these questions; so, too, do some other groups, especially the Marxists.

The rest of the book develops the thesis that man's great social problem is to discover a way of life in which the claims of the human person and of the community can be reconciled, that Catholicism has within its traditional teaching such a way of life. After a brief exposition of some of the central points of this tradition, in which he shows the claims of the Church cannot be dismissed lightly, Dom Aelred returns to the specific points at issue today between Catholics and those outside the faith. They are reducible, he claims, "to nominalism in philosophy and empiricism in ethics" at the rational level, and to the nature of faith as regards Revelation.

Nowhere in these pages does the author attempt a systematic exposition of Catholic doctrine, but he touches lightly and at the same time revealingly on many of Catholicism's central truths. His brief discussion of the Thomist concept of natural law, for example, will be most enlightening to the average Catholic layman and to the inquiring outsider.

Dom Aelred understands the Protestant and the Logical Positivist better than does the average Catholic. He knows that "natural law" and "personal freedom" do not mean the same thing to those outside the Catholic tradition as they do to Catholics; and he understands that outsiders are used to a different approach than the logical Catholic one. He sees the need, therefore, of putting the traditional truths in popular English idiom and

Non omnis morietur. Let us end as we began with elephants and Eleanor Belloc who came to London once to see the Circus and saw as well her Uncle Gilbert: "He remains vividly in my memory, whereas the arrival of the elephants has not. That is as it should be, because you and I shall see Uncle Gilbert again."

For, when all is said and done, G. K. was not so much the elephant as the "man dressed as an elephant," whom Thursday saw dancing in Sunday's garden. Of all the men of our generation he is the only son of Adam who saw the days of the week as they were in the beginning and who gave the animals, even Brother Elephant, their names again.

Charles A. Brady, chairman of the English Department at Canisius College, Buffalo, is Saturday book columnist for the Buffalo Evening News. Mr. Brady contributed "Song of the Volsungs and the Nibelungs" to the Great Books, Volume III, and the study of Marquand to Fifty Years of the American Novel.

BOOKS

of using more of the psychological approach: perhaps the greatest single need in apologetics today. He sees the need, too, of Catholics themselves getting to the core of their tradition, knowing more precisely the source of their Faith, the relationship of Christ to His Church and to us, the pope's position within the Church, the relationship of the Church to the Kingdom of God, and all those other fruitful considerations we have tended to neglect in the last four centuries.

The great value of this book, in my opinion, is that the author stands squarely in the center of the Catholic tradition. In this way his book differs from the more striking but less squarely set *Catholicisme* of Father de Lubac. Whereas the French Jesuit has brilliantly stressed neglected aspects of Catholicism at the expense of a balanced presentation, Dom Aelred leisurely and surely draws from the New Testament, St. Augustine, St. Thomas, down to the present Holy Father to give a well-focused picture of the central Catholic tradition.

As a final note, many American readers may find *Catholicism and the World Today* rather difficult going. The book is obviously written by an Englishman for English readers. It is lucidly done, however, and the reader who is willing to think as he reads, to read actively instead of passively, will find this short work most rewarding.

THOMAS P. NEILL

OUR LADY'S FOOL

By Maria Winowska

Translated by Therese Plumereau

The inspiring life of the great Franciscan priest, Father Maximilian Kolbe, who freely sacrificed his life for a fellow prisoner in Auschwitz concentration camp in 1941. "Men of today cannot disavow this son of St. Francis under the pretext that he sanctified himself in a medieval framework; for, with the exception of its sins, he loved all of the modern world and he conscripted for God the printing press, the radio, the airplane. And he knew all of its miseries too: tuberculosis, bombings, enemy occupation, prison camp—the concentration camp of Auschwitz . . . The story of his death with which this book ends is at once one of the most dreadful and the most sublime that a book from a human pen could yield."—Bruno de Solages in the Preface.

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Slaves and Abolitionists

THE SIN OF THE PROPHET

By Truman Nelson. Little, Brown. 450p. \$4

This jumbo novel reaches back a century to focus on the wild times that ensued on the seizure of Anthony Burns, the last fugitive slave returned from Boston under the terms of the Fugitive-Slave Act. But, more particularly, it is a fictionalized biography of the Abolitionist preacher, Theodore Parker, who saw in Anthony Burns' apprehension and detention by civil authorities a superb chance to wage open warfare on behalf of the anti-slavery movement.

Boston Abolitionists had witnessed in 1851 the seizure of Thomas Sims and Shadrach, and now only three years later they were confronted with the person of Anthony Burns lodged in the courthouse jail. Perhaps this was the time to stage a fight to the finish—presuming that a leader could be found to start things going.

Theodore Parker was the man they were looking for. At forty-three he was a powerful figure, bald and bearded, widely read, eloquent as a prophet, a heretic in theology, at odds with Harvard and with more people than he had friends. But there was a magnetic quality about his person and his resonant voice that jammed the old Music Hall of a Sunday morning and set the reporters scribbling. There was no ignoring Parker.

Parker was no fool. He realized that his fight against a law of the land would demand some clever slight-of-hand and more clever confrères. And so he looked for support from people like Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, Dr. Samuel Howe and his wife, Julia. And there was the Rev. Mr. Thomas Higginson of Worcester, under whose leadership a small army of Worcester men invaded Boston, complicating no end the methods that Parker had envisioned for the safe delivery of the fugitive from the hands of the law.

Opposed to Parker and the Abolitionists, were the District Attorney, Ben Hallett, a bluff but formidable adversary, Louis Varella's small-time gangsters hired to add a show of force to the Marshal's men, and in general, the shady characters of a weak city administration.

The desperate attempt to rescue Anthony Burns came to nothing after all. The law had its way and the slave was conducted down State Street amid the mingled cheers and hisses of the crowd. But the affair was by no means ended for Parker and his friends in-

trouble. One of the Marshal's men had been killed in the brief skirmish and wily Ben Hallett saw an opportunity to bring Parker and his crew to an accounting for their irregular part in the proceedings. How Parker and his circle faced up to the prospect of spending some years behind the bars, and what kind of battle they fought to keep their freedom to the end, make for some interesting reading.

At the hands of Mr. Nelson, Theodore Parker succeeds in coming to life pretty much as one would imagine him to have been as he went his unique way in the transcendental atmosphere of Boston in the 1850's. With all his faults—his acute attacks of theological indigestion, his infatuation with his own voice and his penchant for displaying his learning, his personal eccentricities and obsessions for chest-soundings—there were some eminently likeable qualities about the man which help to explain his popularity with a certain group.

Apart from the interest that one might have in Parker himself, the story is quite interesting for the light it throws on some of Parker's famous contemporaries, and as a clever reconstruction of the tempo of those heady times.

The style of the novel is generally good. Mr. Nelson seems to write at his best when he deals with scenes of violence and—at the other end of the scale—when dealing with the warm domestic life of Parker and, perhaps, Higginson. The court scenes have a tendency to drag, but generally speaking, the book is quite readable.

FELTON O'TOOLE

Search for military genius

LINCOLN AND HIS GENERALS

By T. Harry Williams. Knopf. 363p. \$4

While hardly the thrill-packed epic promised by the blurb writer, this book is a very interesting and readable account of the change of the U. S. Army from a primitive, almost personal organization of less than 20,000 men to an efficient modern war machine of several hundred thousand. It was a case of "learning by doing." Untrained generals who had never commanded more than a few hundred men nor faced an enemy except as young officers in the Mexican War were suddenly plunged into the problems and complexities of the first modern war. There were no precedents to follow, no examples to study, for there had been no great wars in Europe since Napoleon, and the advent of the

railroad, steamboat and telegraph had made his tactics as obsolete as Caesar's.

The author makes no attempt to give a military history of the Civil War nor even a complete account of the activities of any one general. He merely states the problem Lincoln faced in trying to find suitable military leaders and how he solved it. His sketches of the rapidly changing generals who led the Northern armies in Virginia and the West are lively and entertaining, complete enough to give a good picture of each man, mostly sympathetic, though stressing faults and deficiencies and giving small notice to the positive contributions each made to the excellent war machine Grant took over in 1864. For each one did contribute something to the final result, even if it was only to show what should not have been done, and surely none of them surpassed McClellan in ability to organize an army, even if he could not use it efficiently in the field.

The important role which Lincoln played in the organization and activities of the Army is emphasized throughout the book. Commander in Chief, he was, of course, ultimately responsible for the successful outcome of the war; but the lack of a general staff, indeed of any system of command, as well as of any strategic plan for defeating the enemy, forced him to take a much more direct part in military affairs than would be necessary or desirable for a modern President. Lincoln's firm hold on the reins of command and frequent interference in the planning of campaigns, while no doubt necessary and more successful than could reasonably be expected considering his lack of military experience, did show weaknesses and mistakes. The rapid shift of commanders lowered morale in the Army and among the civil population, caused confusion in planning and slowed all activities while the new leader was becoming familiar with his task. The appointments of such obvious incompetents as Butler, Banks and Fremont showed how Lincoln was hampered by having to consider the political angles of the crisis as well as the military.

The author's contention that Lincoln continued his supervision and intervention even after Grant was appointed commanding general in 1864, while contrary to the usual tradition, seems well founded. And while Grant and Sherman were undoubtedly the ablest of the Northern leaders, it seems an oversimplification to assume that victory was achieved when and because they were placed in command. The work of earlier command-

ers all added to the final score, and if many of them seemed slow and over-cautious, we must remember that in the early years of the war the situation was so critical that they could not afford to gamble; for the loss of an army would have meant Confederate invasion of the North and European invasion of the country. Would even Grant and Sherman have been as successful in '61 as they were in '64?

This account is well calculated to bring home to the reader the dangers and the price of unpreparedness and the realization that we cannot expect to have a Lincoln and a Grant always on hand to cope with any crisis that may arise.

F. J. GALLAGHER

DAUGHTER OF THE PACIFIC

By Yoko Matsuoka. Harper. 245p. \$3

Yoko Matsuoka is the offspring of remarkably enlightened and efficient stock. Her father, a descendent of the old Samurai nobility, was a liberal newspaperman who insisted that his three daughters give up the traditional Japanese squat and sit on stools, in order that they might have firm, straight legs when they grew up. Mother Matsuoka studied in America and then returned to Japan as a teacher and writer; she entered into a love-marriage with her husband at a time when all marriages were "arranged," and "purposely chose the day of bad omen for their wedding in order to show that superstitions meant nothing to them." And Aunt Hani, the father's sister, was the first newspaperwoman in Japan, and the founder of the Jiyu Gakuen, the progressive "School of Freedom" in Tokyo, in 1921.

When the Oriental Exclusion Act became law in the United States in 1924, Yoko was eight years old. Her mother, with indignation, desired to appeal to the sensibilities of the women of America against this unseemly discrimination, but found that her facility with English was inadequate. So, immediately, Mother determined that one of her daughters should become fluent in English in order to transmit the intricacies of the Oriental mind to the American people. Yoko was the chosen vessel of communication; and, in this book, her mother's resolution has been fulfilled with marked success.

Miss Matsuoka writes with the penetrating insight of the native-born and the detached objectivity of a cosmopolitan. Reared amid the rigid conventions of a ritualistic society, she was able to appreciate the force of

**New Catholic
Americana . . . the life
of Father Charles
Nerinckx—**

GIANT in the WILDERNESS

by Helene Magaret
Author of *Father de Smet*

This is the biography of Father Charles Nerinckx, fugitive priest-pioneer of the midwest, one of the rugged pioneers whose exploits added a monumental chapter to the story of the Church in America. Expertly the author portrays his personality and the 20 years' work during which he founded the first American order of nuns, built churches, schools, orphanages, and met with final "exile" from his beloved Kentucky parishes. A book that reopens a colorful phase of history, dominated by a priest of heroic stature.

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tradition, but the indulgence of her liberal-minded parents allowed her to transcend its compulsion. Early training at the "School of Freedom," and seven years' study in the United States, where she gained a college degree at Swarthmore, made her a keen, intelligent observer. The sufferings she endured during the war years in Japan, and the subsequent humiliation of the American Occupation, rendered her acutely aware of the problems and inner conflicts of Japan in transition.

The book is a dramatic chronicle. It is not a pledge of faith, nor a hymn of thanksgiving to uplifting democracy. It is a frank re-examination of discarded values, and a moving, haunting search for the solution of an enigma. The future would be much more encouraging for us if Japan had found an answer to her problems, but Miss Matsuoka represents the mind of the common people who feel that their former values were false, and the mind of the intelligentsia who are uncertain of the future.

A sensitive study of the "Oriental Mind" at a time when that term is being too loosely discussed by politicians and experts, this book emphasizes the urgency for a new faith in Japan to fill a spiritual vacuum.

THOMAS M. CURRAN

THE LETTERS OF ST. ATHANASIUS CONCERNING THE HOLY SPIRIT

Translated with Introduction and Notes by C. R. B. Shapland. Philosophical Library. 204p. \$6

When the Arian troubles started, the divine nature of the Holy Spirit did not enter much into the discussions and debates. But the logic of events soon brought the question to the fore, and between the Councils of Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381), where it was defined, this was a topic of never-ending interest.

St. Athanasius, the giant hero of orthodoxy against Arius and his adherents, also wrote several letters on the divinity of the Holy Spirit. By strange omission these letters had never before been translated into English.

The long delay is now ended with amends in this superb edition, published simultaneously in England by the Epworth Press and here, with full Introduction, and scientific bibliographical aids.

The editor sums up the doctrinal position thus: "We may justly say of Athanasius what Lebreton says of Paul: 'Behind his conception of the Spirit stands Christ.'"

GERALD ELLARD, S.J.

BRIGHT PROCESSION

By John Sedges. Day. 305p. \$3.50

This is a good book and a decent one. It may not be a great novel, and some of its characters are not quite convincing, but it has a wholesomeness and recognition of eternal truths which cannot be denied.

This is Stephen Worth's story—Stephen, a young, highly successful New York human relations expert, who realizes that peace of mind can be achieved only at the foot of the Cross. Stephen comes to this conclusion personally and is thus able to assist others after bitter struggle and experience of his own. No little help and example to him is the patient, homespun philosophy of his dear old minister-father.

The two women in Stephen's life are in complete contrast. Jane, his first wife, maladjusted and bewildered and unable to find happiness in the midst of plenty, is infinitely more convincing than is Mary whom he marries some years after Jane's hapless demise. Mary is almost too perfect with her never-failing ability to do and say the right thing at the right time. Perhaps her down-to-earth touch lay in her ability to handle the children; that she did with sane judgment.

The characterization of the children is well done; their individual differences form an interesting psychological study. But some of the lesser personages—Jane's parents, Bothwell Adolph Mendel—are entirely unreal. And the entrance of Adolph's erstwhile girl-friend into the convent is not motivated.

But the "good" part of the book is balm to a troubled world. The spirit of charity which permeates it makes for an atmosphere of calm and peace. CATHERINE D. GAUSE

LIBERTY OR EQUALITY

By Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn. The Caxton Printers, Ltd. 395p. \$8

The author of this volume states in his preface that it "will be the cause of several misunderstandings and, in a number of cases, of downright resentment." This reviewer experienced the second reaction. He is still uncertain whether it be "flattery," "self-delusion" or "cheap optimism"—the triad mentioned by the author—which leads him to fundamental disagreement with the thesis of this book.

Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn has certain estimable qualities. He is urbane. He is well-read, though the bibliograph-

ical references in his 990 notes are of very uneven value and heavily weighted toward political conservatism. His experience gives him insight into a wide variety of human situations. He is on solid ground in his position that democratic practices without firm traditions or without acceptance of human rights can lead to democratic absolutism. And he has no difficulty in establishing that democracy is not universally applicable. Finally, he is well within his rights in "deviating" from Neo-Thomism, in urging that St. Thomas be made a starting-point, not a destination, and in his preference for Christian existentialism.

What is missing in the volume is a sense of history. This is revealed in occasional generalizations that will not stand critical examination, as, for example, the statement that the *ancien régime* "smashed" the French Revolution in 1815. The clearest illustration of this fault is the identification of Catholicism with a certain contingent, relative condition which the author prefers and describes variously as conservatism, monarchism, liberalism (but not democracy), or simply, "the old way."

The Catholic character is then readily defined as the one which fits into this scheme. When it does not, something must have gone wrong:

Non-Catholic cultural patterns affect the most Catholic of civilizations; even the Tyrolean peasant, the Italian Benedictine monk and the Basque Jesuit are influenced to a certain degree by Calvin, Marx, Adam Smith, Bentham, Descartes, Rousseau and Thomas Paine.

Since Catholicism is something static, it is a "stranger in the modern world." (One wonders if there were any Catholics in the first three centuries of the Christian era.) It is also conservative and federalistic. But since the basic Spanish movement is centralistic, this is labeled "pseudo-conservatism" and the two "genuine Spanish causes" are declared to be anarchism and Carlism.

The core of this book is four chapters critical of democracy, leading to the conclusion that the Catholic *Weltbild* lacks the qualities necessary for political democracy. There follows a proposal for a form of government that will preserve liberty without catering to the illusion of equality. It will have four organs: a *corporative* "Diet," an executive administering the bureaucracy, a hereditary monarch acting as an *umpire* (italics his) between the people and the experts, and a Supreme Court appointed by the Church (or churches) and the universities with an absolute veto.

After reading this *mélange* of wise observation and fanciful conclusions, I, for one, must hurry back to Maritain's Neo-Thomist *Man and the State* to recover my sense of equilibrium.

J. N. MOODY

THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS

By George Dangerfield. Harcourt Brace. 525p. \$6

Following a great tradition of historiography in which non-professional historians have made monumental contributions to historical knowledge and literature, George Dangerfield has produced an outstanding example of scholarly, literate history.

The author, an English-born and English-educated American citizen, brought to this work a background and experiences not directly related to historical scholarship. Just as other masterpieces of history, however, stemmed from diverse, non-historical experiences, so has Dangerfield written a superior account of the "transition from Jeffersonian democracy to Jacksonian democracy."

There are many qualities in this work that should make it a classic example of the historian's craft at its best. It is primarily concerned with national politics from the election of James Madison to the accession of Andrew Jackson. However, it is not merely a record of the actions of Presidents Madison, Monroe and J. Q. Adams, nor of the decisions of their cabinets, nor even of the legislation of the Congresses. These subjects in the nation's capital may be in the foreground of the writing, but they were influenced and conditioned by countless other developments.

Dangerfield appreciates the complexity of economic, social and international affairs affecting national politics. He narrates proceedings in Washington and in the State capitals, in remote spots of the frontier and in the diplomatic sessions of foreign governments. Understanding the interplay and cross-currents of all these forces is essential to understanding this period of history. The author is explicit in bringing them together in a way that is as comprehensive as it is lucid.

This was a period in which international disputes were frequent. During it, one of the foundations of foreign policy was set down by John Quincy Adams and announced by James Monroe. Here, too, were the beginnings of industrialism and the distress of economic collapse. The expansion of the young nation to the south and west was becoming increasingly restless. And accompanying

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these uneasy changes, conflicts over slavery were coming into evidence. That there were too many ideas and issues producing discord to warrant the description of "the era of good feelings" is strikingly apparent. Dangerfield has combined good writing with sound history. His many character sketches are clearcut and revealing. The extensive pages of notes and bibliography indicate the bases for his historical judgments. For all Dangerfield's writing skill and comprehensiveness, however, it might be stated that the intricacies of international diplomacy do not always make for smooth reading. And the inclusion of two maps is the barest minimum for keeping clear the complex geographical issues. **WILLIAM G. TYRRELL**

HOW THE REPUBLICANS CAN WIN IN 1952

*By Benjamin A. Javits. Holt. 148p.
\$2.50*

Here is one of the better books on the current chaos in the American political picture. The problems, attitudes and mistakes of the Republican party are closely scrutinized; the major candidates evaluated, and a potential platform for victory is offered. Obviously then, this is more in the nature of a political handbook and has a much wider scope than its title suggests.

Benjamin Javits, brother of the Representative from New York, has attempted "to design that signpost for the Republicans to raise if they want to lead America along the path it is searching for." He therefore offers a platform of seven planks, all of which are economic and based on the assumption (Plank Two) that the consumer's welfare is the "one standard to supplant all others."

The originality of his program reveals a realistic approach to the present-day dangers in our economy; the implications of its feasibility, however, reveal an optimism unsupported by any plan for execution. Moreover, the seven planks are only as complete or convincing as any purely economic platform can be. Most Republicans will insist that our foreign policy, surprisingly ignored in these pages, be a foremost issue this November, and few will agree that the answer to Communists in government, States' rights and farm subsidies "lies in the basic principles . . . in our seven planks."

This book has been prompted by the thought that no candidate can rely completely on issues like corruption, which "displays poverty of

thought and statesmanship." And whether his platform is accepted or not, if the Republican party takes Mr. Javits' warning that some positive program is needed, then it can reasonably hope for victory.

JOHN F. X. IRVING

THOMAS P. NEILL, in the History Department at St. Louis University, is the author of *Makers of the Modern Mind* and *They Lived the Faith*.

REV. FELTON O'TOOLE, S.J., is on the staff of *Jesuit Missions*.

REV. FRANCIS GALLAGHER, S.J. teaches history at St. Joseph's High School, Philadelphia, Pa.

THOMAS M. CURRAN, S.J. studied the Japanese language at Yokosuka, taught at the Jesuit High School in Kobe, and is now at Weston College, Weston, Mass.

REV. JOSEPH N. MOODY, for several years a Navy chaplain at Casablanca and in the Pacific, has taught history at Cathedral College, Notre Dame College, and New Rochelle College.

JOHN F. X. IRVING teaches in a private secondary school.

THE WORD

"Abraham your father rejoiced that he was to see my day. He saw it and was glad" (John 8:56, gospel for Passion Sunday).

A small group met in the neighborhood public library to discuss interracial tensions. The Jewish lawyer, a member of B'nai B'rith, thought that Christians should revise the New Testament account of the Crucifixion. Reading this, Christians (he said) blamed the Jews for the death of Christ and were led to hate them for it.

This well-meaning promoter of better community relations was asking the impossible. I pointed out to him that Catholics in their liturgy call Abraham their father. They yield not one iota to believing Jews in their reverence for the integrity of every word that God revealed in the Old Testament. That same reverence they extend to every word of the New. To change one jot or tittle would be unthinkable.

The underlying error of the Jewish

lawyer's approach was, of course, the assumption that the Gospel accounts of the sufferings and death of Christ tend to stir up feelings of hostility toward Jews. The very opposite is true. Faithful followers of Jesus feel sorrow even for those who stood at the foot of the cross and mocked Him. They will re-echo His own words: "Father, forgive them for they do not know what they are doing" (Luke 23:34).

Peter and Paul are perfect examples of the compassion and understanding that Christians ought to have toward those who rejected Christ. "And now, brethren," said Peter to the Jews, "I know that you acted in ignorance, as did also your rulers. But in this way God fulfilled what He had announced beforehand by the mouth of all the prophets . . ." (Acts 3:17, 18).

St. Paul pleaded with the Roman Christians not to be boastful in their attitude toward the Jews (11:18). He reminded them of his deep affection for his people: "Brethren, my heart's desire and my prayer to God is in their behalf unto their salvation." Then from his own personal experience as a former active opponent of Christ's followers he added: "For I bear them witness that they have zeal for God, but not according to knowledge . . ." (Rom. 10:12).

The remembrance of the sufferings of Christ wore deep furrows in the tear-stained cheeks of Peter. The tears were shed for the part he had played in the Master's sufferings. St. Paul, who gladly bore in his own body the stigmata (wounds or scars) of Christ's passion, longed to suffer even more in order to speed the day when Israel might share in the inheritance that was meant to be hers.

In today's epistle, which was addressed to the Hebrews, St. Paul tells his people that the promises made to Abraham are fulfilled in Christ. A "high priest forever according to the order of Melchisedech" (Heb. 6:20), He offered the bloody sacrifice once and for all. His blood, like Abel's, calls out to the heavenly Father—not for vengeance, but for mercy and pardon. The blood of Christ "which speaks better than Abel" (Heb. 12:25) reminds us that we, His brethren, put Christ to death. It reminds us that we must love our brethren—all mankind.

JOHN J. SCANLON, S.J.

THEATRE

THE HAUNTED HOUSE. When I sat down to write this report on the

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CITY ZONE STATE

state of the theatre, I checked the advertisements of current plays in today's newspapers and discovered that of twenty-four advertised productions only nine that have opened since September had the vitality to hang on till March. Five productions are holdovers from past seasons, three are revivals and three are foreign plays. One production, the Cleopatra plays, is a revival of foreign classics, and the remaining three fall into a borderline category—plays from foreign sources by American authors.

Without the revivals and productions of foreign origin, more than half of the theatres along Broadway would be dark. The list of playwrights who are drawing the crowds includes Shakespeare, Shaw, Maugham and Odets, all of them either dead or moribund. Mr. Odets, a comparatively young man, may resent being bracketed with demised or ancient members of his craft; so I hasten to assure him that Tennessee Williams and Arthur Miller, even younger men, would be included if they had contributed anything like *Rose Tattoo* or *Death of a Salesman* to the season's menu. Most of our native playwrights, whatever their age may be chronologically, are spiritually either dead or dying, with the result that our theatre resembles nothing so much as a haunted house, tenanted by the works of dead authors, old and faltering dramatists and young playwrights with senile ideas.

Such venerable shades as those of Ibsen, Rostand and Strindberg will always be only too welcome in the theatre. Like the family ghosts of English country houses, they come with the property and enhance its value. It is the younger ghosts—or perhaps they are only ghost writers—who are disturbing. They are parvenus on the premises, and parvenus who seldom pay for their keep.

I cannot recall in the last decade or two an American playwright—Thornton Wilder certainly excepted—who left me feeling that I had been confronted with a new aspect of beauty, or experienced spiritual uplift or moral edification; or one who has enriched my mind, given me a better understanding of human problems or made me more tolerant of the failings of my fellowmen. What I usually bring out of a theatre is the satisfaction of observing good acting, frequently excellent acting, in a shoddy play. When the production is a high life comedy, like *Jane*, I remember the expensively dressed women; when it happens to be a musical, I remember the too-undressed women. Frequently I have laughed at humorous situations or lines, or listened to exhilarating music.

These are not adequate substitutes, however, for imaginative drama in which virile character comes to grips with a baffling moral problem wearing the guise of implacable fate or destiny; or drama that shines with lyrical beauty or romantic love, as in *Cyrano*, or loyalty to a vow, as in *Lute Song*, or emotional felicity, as in *Candida*. Whenever I encounter those spiritual treasures they usually have been bequeathed to the theatre by a dramatist who has been dead for years or centuries. Usually, but not always.

T. S. Eliot, Christopher Fry, and occasionally Terence Rattigan and Jan de Hartog, bring imagination and moral purpose to the theatre. All of them, you will notice, are foreigners. Most of our native playwrights who have come to bloom since O'Neill and Anderson have, in the meantime, been busily writing their own epitaphs, which will probably mention, or ought to, that the deceased contributed many shallow characters, discredited ideas and false ideals to the drama of his age. His imagination died years before his mortal remains were committed to earth.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

MURDER IN THE CATHEDRAL is a loving screen transcription of T. S. Eliot's beautiful verse drama about St. Thomas à Becket. The film version is not only faithful to the original. Producer-director George Hoellering has even prevailed upon Eliot to supply a good deal of new material.

Where the play began with Becket's return from exile; the movie delves further back and explores the first clash between the Archbishop and Henry II over the King's attempt to subjugate spiritual authority to his temporal rule. For screen purposes this brings into much better focus a story which is particularly relevant and inspiring for modern times.

To play the martyred Archbishop, Hoellering has felicitously chosen an Anglican priest, Rev. John Groser, who not only radiates holiness and spiritual strength but also shows surprising professional competence as an actor. T. S. Eliot himself speaks the lines of the Fourth Tempter, while the rest of the cast is more conventionally recruited from the English stage.

As a screen presentation the drama has its weaknesses. Eliot's gifts are more lyric than dramatic. Though the

film uses the camera imaginatively in making transitions and increases the visual impact by focusing on some lovely medieval art work, the scenes have very little intrinsic action and their largely aural appeal makes heavy demands on the concentration of the spectator. Once given, however, this concentration returns a rich profit for family audiences. (Classic Films)

HOODLUM EMPIRE. There is a certain type of lurid national headline which inevitably inspires, if that is the word, a large number of movies on one subject. *Hoodlum Empire*, very obviously suggested by the Senate Crime Investigation of a year ago, is a typical hack job operating on the fallacy that equates fact with drama.

The picture features two Senators (Brian Donlevy, Gene Lockhart), two mobsters (Luther Adler, Forrest Tucker), a shady lady (Claire Trevor) and various minor characters, most of whom are readily identifiable with their real-life counterparts. It does not make these characters come to life or relate them to a consistent point of view. Moreover, the fictional frame of the story—the plight of a reformed ex-member of the crime syndicate (John Russell) who is in double jeopardy from the law and the underworld—is both absurd and, owing to indifferent use of the flashback technique, almost unintelligible.

Altogether the film is neither interesting nor instructive. (Republic)

DEADLINE—U. S. A. is a sprawling, topical melodrama which is derived not only from the above-mentioned crime investigation but also from the recent demise of the New York evening *Sun*. In the midst of juggling these two plots it takes time out to deliver an encomium to a free and responsible press and, as a side line, even involves its hard-pressed editor-hero (Humphrey Bogart) in a successful campaign to win back his ex-wife.

Despite its catch-all construction, the picture manages most of the time to seem both entertaining and intelligent. Its author-director, Richard Brooks, evidently has first-hand knowledge of the workings of a newspaper office. His exposition of the complexities of modern news reporting has a vigor, authenticity and an honest sweat and toil about it that is usually lacking in the Hollywood clichés about journalism. Mr. Brooks also knows how to write pungent dialog and crackling situation and how to collect a cast of character actors—Ethel Barrymore, Martin Gabel, Ed Begley, Audrey Christie, etc.—who can do justice to them. When he learns to follow a more disciplined story line he ought to make a really first-rate movie.

(20th Century-Fox)

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CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Dulles on Nationalist China

EDITOR: I have read with interest in your "Current Comment" column of March 1 the item headed "Should Chiang invade China?" The implication is that I favor such an invasion.

There is, as you point out, a great deal of present uncertainty as to the capabilities of the Nationalist forces in this respect. All that I have advocated is that the Chinese Communists should assume the burden of meeting those uncertainties rather than our meeting them. What I said in my "Meet the Press" interview was:

... And it's somewhat abnormal, the arrangement that's there. And I would think that it would be in order to consider at least getting back to a more normal relationship. Normally we don't use our fleet to protect the Communist areas. We let them pay for that themselves.

... It is not normal for us to dedicate U. S. forces to restrain our friendly allies. We believe that they will work in cooperation with us and not do reckless things which would get us into trouble. I do not think that we need to use the fleet to accomplish that result, or at least I think that's something we should look into.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES
Washington, D. C.

And a hard life it is . . .

EDITOR: You might be interested to learn the following comments I have received concerning my AMERICA reviews of the past year:

Class 1: "Why do you always praise a book just because it's Catholic?" (When I liked a book and honestly said so.)

Class 2: "Why don't you give evidence to support your criticism instead of making damaging generalizations?" (When I found what I considered a defect and mentioned it in passing.)

Class 3: "Why do you Catholic reviewers hop on one point and pass over all the good features of a book?" (When I took the space to develop a detailed list of my reasons for criticizing a book's reliability.)

No comment necessary!

AMERICA REVIEWER

Spirit of the Klan

EDITOR: Your editorial "Spirit of the Klan" (AM. 3/1) in my humble estimation is an excellent analysis of the

fundamental factors underlying what you rightly term "the curse of discrimination and compulsory segregation."

At times we may differ with AMERICA on various issues, but the entire nation should be grateful to AMERICA for its constant, unswerving and at times heroic stand in combating this fundamental abuse of human rights. The problem obviously cannot be explained in simple terms of black and white, but the very complexity of the problem has been the cause of too many Catholic writers' avoiding comment on it. AMERICA's consistency in this respect has been a challenge to other Catholic writers and certainly has been instrumental in the striving towards its solution.

(REV.) ANTHONY P. WAGENER
Editor, *The Register*
La Crosse Edition.

EDITOR: The Editors of AMERICA spoke in the spirit of charity and truth in their editorial "The Spirit of the Klan" (AM. 3/1), when they wrote: "A deep-seated spirit of cruelty and hatred has grown up under the shadow of the South's accepted racial practices." This is one of the few public statements that has dared to call a spade a spade, and to fix the evils that afflict the South on hatred, cruelty and lawlessness, which are a direct result of the principle of "White Supremacy."

This curse of hatred and cruelty is not only a race problem, but more, because it attacks not only the color of man, but the brotherhood of man, and probably has laid waste the chivalry of the South.

NAME WITHHELD
Baltimore, Md.

America in the classroom

EDITOR: In my opinion Catholic college students' development, especially in the social sciences, is hindered and incomplete unless they are regularly exposed to AMERICA. Its brisk, timely and informative interpretation of the news in the light of Christian principles is a valuable adjunct to college courses. I wouldn't have my students without it.

BRUNO J. HARTUNG
Economics Department
Duquesne University
Pittsburgh, Pa.

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